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MINUTES

OF THE

EVIDENCE

TAKEN BEFORE

A Committee of the House of Commons,

Being a Committee of the Whole House,

Appointed to consider of the several

Articles of Charge of High Crimes and Misdemeanors

Presented to the House against

WARREN HASTINGS, Esq.

Late Governor General of Bengal :

Containing the Examinations of

Sir ROBERT BARKER, Bart.
Colonel CHAMPION.
Major MARSACK.
Captain LEONARD JAQUES.
Major BALFOUR.
Major GARDENER.
Major GILPIN.
NATHANIEL MIDDLETON, Esq.
Captain WILLIAMS.
Sir ELIJAH IMPEY.

Captain THOMAS MERCER.
WILLIAM YOUNG, Esq.
Mr. ISAAC BAUGH.
WILLIAM HARWOOD, Esq.
EWAN LAW, Esq.
ALEXANDER HIGGINSON, Esq.
PETER MOORE, Esq.
WILLIAM MARKHAM, Esq.
DAVID ANDERSON, Esq.
Mr. WILLIAM WRIGHT.

LONDON:

Printed for JOHN STOCKDALE, Piccadilly; and JOHN MURRAY,
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MINUTES

OF THE

EVIDENCE

TAKEN BEFORE A

Committee of the House of Commons,

BEING

A COMMITTEE OF THE WHOLE HOUSE,

Appointed to consider of the several Articles of Charge of High Crimes and Misdemeanors, presented to the House against Warren Hastings, Esquire, late Governor General of Bengal.

L O N D O N:

Printed for JOHN STOCKDALE, opposite BURLINGTON-HOUSE,
PICCADILLY, M. DCC. LXXXVI.

MINUTES

OF THE

SELECTED

TAKEN AT

Committee of the House of Commons.



A COMMITTEE OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Appointed to consider the Bill for the purpose of
amending the law relating to the
rights of the House of Commons.

Printed by the Stationery Office.

LONDON.

1885.

MINUTES, &c.

Martis, 2^o die Maij 1786.

COMMITTEE of the whole House on the Articles of Charge of High Crimes and Misdemeanors, presented to the House against Warren Hastings, Esquire, late Governor General of Bengal.

On the Subject of the Rohilla War.

SIR ROBERT BARKER called in and examined.

How long have you served in India, and in what branch of the Service, Civil or Military?

I have served in India 21 years, from the rank of Second Lieutenant to that of Brigadier General and Commander in Chief.

Have you served any part of that time in the Upper Provinces, and how long, and in what rank?

I served in Bengal and the Upper Provinces about 10 years, with the rank of Colonel and Brigadier General.

Was you, at or about from 1771 to 1773, Commander in Chief in those Provinces, and a Member of the Council?

From about 1771 to 1773 I was Brigadier General and Commander in Chief, and a Member of the Council.

Whether you, during that Service, endeavoured to make yourself master of the interests and disposition of the Country Powers relative to one another, and to the Company ?

I did.

Whether you know any thing of the situation and disposition of the Chiefs of the Rohillas, and Sujah Dowlah, Nabob of Oude, and Vizier of the Empire ?

I knew they were neighbouring Provinces, and Nations—their Countries lay contiguous to each other.

Do you know of any formed design of the Rohillas to conquer Sujah Dowlah, and to extirpate his Family, and the race of Mahometans that possessed the country of Oude, from that country, during the time of your Service ?

I do not.

Do you know any thing of a design of Sujah Dowlah for the purpose of making a conquest of the country of the Rohillas ?

Not till after the forfeiture of the engagement they had made in their Treaty of the year 1772 with Sujah Dowlah :—There was always a jealousy subsisting between the Rohillas and Sujah Dowlah ; but I do not know any declared resolution of Sujah Dowlah to reduce their country before that period.

Has Sujah Dowlah been considered as an ambitious Prince, desirous of extending his dominions at the expence of his neighbours, or was he not ?

He was an ambitious Prince :—I do not know that he declared himself desirous of acquiring possessions, nor making conquests, before that time.

What was the ground of jealousy between him and the Rohillas ?

It was a matter that arose in his Father's time, upon some Territories being taken from him and possessed by the Rohillas, (I am speaking from hearsay as to this last) which he had ever kept in remembrance.

How

How soon after the acceſſion of Sujah Dowlah to the dominions of his Father was he expelled from them by the Engliſh arms ?

I have no notes of that circumſtance, and I do not recollect.

How long had he been reſtored to his dominions before his Treaty with the Rohillas to ſecure them againſt invaſion from the Mahrattas ?

That is another queſtion which I was not prepared for :—He was reſtored to his dominions after the battle of Buxar, in which he was defeated by the Army under Colonel Munro.

Was you privy to the Treaty between the Rohillas and Sujah Dowlah, for the purpoſe already mentioned ?

If the queſtion means in the year 1772—I was.

Did you Sign it as a Witneſs ?

I did.

Did you conceive that you bound the Company by that Signature to a Guarantee of the Treaty by War, in caſe either of the parties had declined to perform their Engagement ?

And the queſtion being objected to ;

The Witneſs was directed to withdraw.

And being again called in ;

The queſtion was repeated ?

I did not—and my reaſons for ſigning it were theſe : 1ſt. It was requested of me by the Vizier Sujah Dowlah, and the Rohillas, the two parties.—2dly. I knew there would be no Treaty unleſs I did witneſs it ; the Rohillas not having faith enough in the Vizier to take his Signature only.

Did not the Vizier charge the Rohillas with an infraction of that Treaty.

He did.

In what did that Infraction conſiſt ?

In not paying the £. 400,000.

Do you, from your knowledge of the circumſtances, think there was no other way for the Vizier to recover the £. 400,000, but by a conqueſt of the country
of

of the Rohillas, and exterminating them from that country ?

I am not a judge of that question, because I left India the latter end of the year 1773 ; and I know not what demands were made by the Nabob Sujah Dowlah, previous to his engaging in that war.

Are you of opinion, from your knowledge of the country, the people, and their circumstances, that an amicable mediation on the part of the Company might not have induced the Rohillas to pay that money to Sujah Dowlah, and to compromise the difference between the parties ?

I believe that they would have given part to have saved the remainder.

What do you mean by the words *part* and *the remainder* ?

I mean that they would have given part of their wealth to have preserved the whole of their country—I mean also that they would have given part of their country to have preserved the remainder.

Whether the Vizier Sujah Dowlah was competent to the conquest of that country, and the extermination of that people, without the aid of the English arms ?

I do not think he was.

Whether you was at Benares at the time of the treaty, commonly called the treaty of Benares, carried on between Mr. Hastings, on the part of the Company, and the Vizier Sujah Dowlah ?

I was.

In what situation and character was you there ?

As Commander in Chief of the forces.

Did Mr. Hastings confer with you on the articles and provisions of the treaty during the time that it was in a train of negotiation ?

There were several visits of civility which passed between Mr. Hastings and me during that time ; and in conversation, among other things, Mr. Hastings informed me of some parts of the conference he had had with Sujah Dowlah, relative to his commission ; but I understood it merely as conversation—I

certainly should not have received it as official information, because, by being excluded from a deputation on political concerns from the Board of the Nabob Sujah Dowlah, I found my character, as Commander in Chief, considerably degraded in the opinion of the Country Powers.

Had it been usual to negotiate treaties of great importance with the Country Princes without any official communication with the Commander in Chief?

I believe not; because in the treaty of Allahabad, made by Lord Clive with Sujah Dowlah in 1763, General Carnac was included in that commission.

Did you ever make any complaint, directly or indirectly, to Mr. Hastings, on the subject of that exclusion?

I did, and laid before the Council Board a minute as soon as I came to Calcutta.

What reason did Mr. Hastings assign to you for your exclusion from that commission?

His reasons are contained in his answer to my minute.

When did you see the public treaty of Benares for the first time?

What treaty?

The treaty of the 7th of September 1773.

I never saw any treaty of Benares.

Was not you called to be present at the execution of the public treaty of Benares.

I must correct my last answer——If the question means, whether I saw the treaty, *i. e.* whether I saw a roll of paper called a treaty, which I never heard read, I certainly did see the treaty; but the contents of which I was unacquainted with.

Who were present at the conferences between the Vizier and Mr. Hastings?

I don't know.

Do you know whether any person was present?

I know only, from Mr. Hastings's conversation, that the Nabob's Minister was present.

Do you know whether any of the Company's servants were present?

I do

I do not.

Was there any other member of the Council at Benares besides you and Mr. Hastings ?

There were two, I recollect, Mr. Vansittart and Mr. Lambert.

Was the Secretary of the Council there, Mr. Stuart ?

I think he was, if I recollect right.

Did Mr. Hastings give any intimation to you officially, or in private, whilst you were at Benares, that he had concluded a secret, unwritten agreement with the Vizier Sujah Dowlah, for the extirpation of the people called Rohillas ?

In private, Mr. Hastings communicated to me, that the Nabob proposed marching his army and that of the Company against the Rohillas, and wished that I would command that army.

Did Mr. Hastings inform you that he had consented to that proposal, and bound the Company's faith to it ?

At this distance of time, now 13 years, I cannot recollect every circumstance which Mr. Hastings said to me on that subject ; but I think it implied something of that kind, by his wishing that I would command the army.

Did Mr. Hastings make this as a proposal to you, or only a part of a conversation ?

Only part of a conversation.

Then you do not recollect that Mr. Hastings told you positively that he had agreed to the proposal ?

I do not recollect it sufficiently to affirm it to the Committee.

Whether the Rohillas were included in the line of defence formed, or intended to be formed, against the Mahrattas, in 1772 ?

If the question means, that the treaty with the Nabob and Vizier formed that line of defence—It certainly did.

Were the Mahrattas in fact prevented from invading the Rohillas by any act of Sujah Dowlah, or by his protection of that country ?

No.

Were

Were the Rohillas ever at war or at hostility with the English before 1773 ?

I never heard that they were.

Had the Rohillas ever done an injury of any kind, direct or indirect, to the English ?

I never heard that they did.

Whether the Mahrattas were not prevented from possessing themselves of the Rohilla country by the British troops, joined with those of Sujah Dowlah ?

The Mahrattas were driven and expelled from the Rohilla country by the British troops and those of the Vizier.

What grounds had you for writing, in your letter to the Calcutta Council, dated the 6th of April 1773, "It is well known that neither promises nor oaths have been able to bind this treacherous sect of people (speaking of the Rohillas) to their engagements?"

It was very evident that oaths did not bind them, by their evasions to pay the forty lacks, as agreed to with Sujah Dowlah ; and their general character was that of a treacherous sect of people.

When you, with the British army, entered the Rohilla country, in the beginning of 1773, was not Hafiz Rhamet on his march to join the Mahrattas ?

I do not know that he was :—He had been carrying on conferences ; there was an intercourse between him and the Mahrattas ; but I do not think he was marching to join them.

Were not some of the Rohillas at that time joined with the Mahrattas ?

I do not know that there were.

Whilst you was with Sujah Dowlah, was any demand made by him on the Rohillas, for the payment of the forty lacks ?

Frequently : demands by the Nabob, and representations from myself.

Did they pay the money in consequence of those demands and representations ?

I do not know that they did.

B

Did

Did not you depute Captain Gabriel Harper to Hafiz Rhamet, the Rohilla Chief, in May 1772, previous to the treaty entered into with Sujah Dowlah and the Rohillas ?

I did, at the Vizier's particular and earnest request.

Did not Hafiz Rhamet meet you and Sujah Dowlah in consequence ?

He did.

Did not Hafiz Rhamet declare that he looked on Sujah Dowlah and the English as one ?

I do not exactly recollect that expression :—He had great faith in the English, and his visit to the Vizier was in consequence of that faith.

Whether any compulsion was used by you, or any other English gentleman, to induce Hafiz Rhamet to sign the treaty ?

None.

Did not you, sometime on or about the 24th of March 1773, send a proposition from Sujah Dowlah to the Council in Calcutta, “ That if the Rohillas “ should fail in their engagements, Sujah Dowlah “ would give the Company forty lacks of rupees for “ aid of their arms, to put him in possession of the “ Rohilla country ?

I am not certain as to the particular date of this letter ; but I wrote to the Board, “ That the Nabob “ offered fifty lacks of rupees (upon a failure of the “ Rohillas to the engagement) to put him in possession of that part of the Rohilla country, commonly called Hafiz Rhamet's.

Do you mean the whole of the Rohilla country, except that now held by Fizulla Cawn ?

I meant that part of the Rohilla country held by Hafiz Rhamet.

Did not Sujah Dowlah and the English punctually perform every part of their engagements with the Rohillas, notwithstanding the evasions of that chief ? And did not you, after the completion of the service, and the retreat of the Mahrattas, inclose a treaty to the Council of Calcutta, for the purpose of shewing to them how literally it had been performed ?

The service was completely performed—I believe I inclosed a treaty sometime before that, as soon as it was executed.

Do not you recollect that you inclosed a second copy of the treaty, and accompanied it with words to this effect—“ That you inclosed it, to shew how “ literally it had been performed, notwithstanding “ the evasion of the chiefs?”

I think it very probable I did; but at this distance of time I do not recollect that letter.

Was it not the subject of common conversation, as you might have heard in the army on the service under your command in 1773, that the conduct of the Rohillas was treacherous? And in the morning the army marched under you to Ram Ghaut, in order to force the Mahrattas to pass the Ganges, “ That “ we were on that day to breakfast with the Rohillas, “ and dine with the Mahrattas?”

I do not know what conversation might pass in the army, but I never heard any such thing.

Did not you mention to the Board in Calcutta, in several letters written in the course of that service, previous to our junction with the Rohillas, your suspicion of the conduct they meant to pursue?

I mentioned several times the duplicity of their conduct—that they were carrying on conferences both with the Mahrattas and Sujah Dowlah.

Did not the army under your command, after having forded the Ganges, and recrossed it again into the Rohilla country on the Eastern side, remain in camp in the neighbourhood of Ram Ghaut, till the Rohillas were freed from all danger of future invasion?

We did.

Did not you, when the British army returned, after having completely effected the service on which they were sent, remain a few days behind the army, for the professed purpose of inducing Hafiz Rhamet to comply with his engagements?

I did.

Whether, in the month of March 1773, you wrote any letter to the Council at Calcutta, mentioning that

some of the Rohilla chiefs had actually joined with the Mahrattas ?

Of the great number of letters I wrote to the Council, it is impossible for me at this time to recollect—I do not recollect such a letter.

Upon what grounds do you form the belief, that, to avoid the necessity of war, the Rohillas would have surrendered part of their effects, to have preserved the remainder ?

From a knowledge of the people in general :—It is in their constitution to part with something, when forced to it, rather than risque the remainder.

What do you mean by the expression *forced to it* ?

I mean the armed force coming to compel them.

Do you mean that an armed force would have been necessary to have obtained payment of a part, to preserve the remainder ?

I do verily believe it.

Then you believe that an armed force would have been necessary to have compelled payment even of a part ?

I believe it would—or the appearance of an armed force.

Do not you believe that such payment might have been obtained by an amicable interposition of the English Governor with the Rohillas ?

I do not think it could, without the appearance of compulsion.

In what year were the Mahrattas driven out of the Rohilla country, by the united power of the English and the Vizier ?

In the year 1773, I think.

Had the Mahrattas overrun the Rohilla country in 1773 ?

No—the British arms prevented them.

If the British arms prevented them from overrunning the country, how could they be driven out ?

They were within the Rohilla country, and did not overrun it.

How far had they advanced into the Rohilla country ?

They

They had advanced as far as Azapour ; but it must be observed that their depredations were confined chiefly to the towns on the banks of the Ganges.

Were they driven out by the British forces only ?

By the terror of the British arms only, because the Vizier was considerably in the rear.

Did the Rohillas assign any reason, and what, in justification of their not paying the money ?

The Rohillas said, it was true we had driven out the Mahrattas from their country, and saved them, but they might return the next year, when our joint forces were not in the Rohilla country to defend them ; that we had done little, intimating, that we had not destroyed the Mahratta armies.

Were the Rohillas considered as a free and independent nation, competent to make treaties with other States ?

They were independent.

What was the reputed character of Sujah Dowlah ?

It is very difficult for me to draw the character of Sujah Dowlah :—He was, like all other Indostaners, not observing much faith, when it was his interest to do otherwise.

When the British army drove the Mahrattas out of the Rohilla country, was not the expence of the British army defrayed in part by Sujah Dowlah ?

In part it was.

You have said that Mr. Hastings mentioned to you, during the conference at Benares in September 1773, that Sujah Dowlah had proposed an expedition against the Rohillas ;—did you ever hear why that proposal was not carried into effect.

I quitted India a few months after the proposal, and never heard why it was not carried into effect.

Have you never heard that it was laid aside at the request of Sujah Dowlah, pending the negotiation at Benares ?

I have heard so from the reports of the transactions of the Board.

You have spoken of the Rohillas as a sect ;—were they cultivators of the soil of the Rohilla country ?

They

They were not :—The Hindoos compose the greatest part of the people of India—a very large proportion—they compose the husbandmen, mechanics, and lower order of people.

Were not the Rohillas nearly possessors of the civil and military power?

I believe they were.

Do you apprehend that it ever was proposed to expel, extirminate, or extirpate the cultivators of the soil and the mechanics, or was it not merely intended to remove the Rohillas from the country called the Rohilla country?

I am very sure it never was intended to expel the cultivators of the country, but to remove the Governors of it.

You have stated that the conferences at Benares were not officially communicated to you ;—had not Mr. Hastings at that time a separate commission from the Council to negotiate with Sujah Dowlah?

I believe he had.

Do you not know that the Mahometan Rohillas did possess jaghires or assignments upon land, or other estates in land, in that country?

They possessed the whole land, and collected the revenues.

Whether they did not resemble, as near as the local circumstances of the country admit, the nobility and landed gentlemen of this country?

I do not know how to draw the parallel.

Were they not the same nation or description of men, with whom a former treaty was made by Sujah Dowlah?

They were.

Were they not the same nation from whom the payment of the sum of money was expected?

They were.

Whether it is your opinion, that the shew of a strong military English force, conjoined with the Nabob's forces, on their frontiers, with a declared intention of compelling them to pay the money, would
not

not have induced them to pay it, without an actual invasion?

I believe it would have had great effect on the minds of the Rohillas; but whether it would have induced them to have complied with their treaty, unless they had marched into their country, I am not certain.

What was the number of the whole nation of the Rohillas supposed to be?

The nation of the Rohillas was composed of Mahometans and Gentoos.

What is the number of Mahometans?

I never heard.

And then the witness was directed to withdraw.

To report a progress, &c.

MINUTES, &c.

Mercurij, 3^o dei Maij 1786.

COMMITTEE of the whole House on the Articles of Charge of High Crimes and Misdemeanors, presented to the House against Warren Hastings, Esquire, late Governor General of Bengal.

On the Subject of the Rohilla War.

COLONEL CHAMPION called in, and examined.

In what rank did you serve the East India Company?

As Colonel.

Did you command the Company's troops in the invasion of the Rohillas in 1774?

I did.

Did the Rohillas make a considerable resistance to that invasion?

They did.

Did the Vizier, or his troops, take a considerable part in the engagement which happened with the Rohillas in April 1774?

The

The Vizier did not; but some part of his troops did.

At what distance did the Vizier remain from the place of action; in the rear during the action?

About eight miles.

Did Sujah Dowlah conduct the war with unnecessary cruelty and devastation of the country, and burning the towns?

To the best of my recollection, he did.

In what manner did he treat his prisoners, and the wives and daughters of the Rohilla chiefs?

And the question being objected to;

The witness was directed to withdraw.

And being again called in;

[The following Letter, inserted in N^o 45 of the Appendix to the fifth Report from the Committee of Secrecy, appointed to inquire into the causes of the war in the Carnatic, and of the condition of the British possessions in those parts, was read to the witness, viz.]

‘ Dear Sir, Bissoulee, 10th May 1774.

‘ I HAVE the pleasure to send you a short address for the Board, requesting permission to repair to the Presidency; and I beg you will not fail to present it as soon as credible accounts shall arrive of any officer’s being on the way to Bengal to take the command of the army.

‘ Not only do I wish to get down as soon as possible, to put my little affairs in the best order for my return to Europe, but I must be candid enough to unbosom myself to you freely, and confess, that the nature of the service, and the terms on which I have been employed this campaign, have been inexpressibly disagreeable.

‘ The authority given to the Vizier over your army, has totally absorbed that degree of consequence due to my station. My hands have been tied up from

C

‘ giving

‘ giving protection or asylum to the miserable. I have
 ‘ been obliged to give a deaf ear to the lamentable
 ‘ cries of the widow and fatherless, and to shut my
 ‘ eyes against a wanton display of violence and oppres-
 ‘ sion, of inhumanity and cruelty.

‘ The Company’s interest constrained me in public
 ‘ to stifle the workings of my feelings; but I must
 ‘ give them vent in private.

‘ Though we had no active part in his base pro-
 ‘ ceedings, yet it is well known that the success of our
 ‘ arms gave him the power of perpetrating these enor-
 ‘ mities; and I much fear that our being even silent
 ‘ spectators of such deeds will redound to the disho-
 ‘ nour of our nation, and impress all Indostan with the
 ‘ most unfavourable opinion of our government.

‘ As matters now are, I know of no remedy that
 ‘ would so effectually re-establish our character for jus-
 ‘ tice and clemency, as your taking the family of Ha-
 ‘ fiz under the wings of your mercy and protection,
 ‘ and influencing the Nabob to make provision for
 ‘ them in some degree suitable to their birth.

‘ It would affect your sensibility too much, were I
 ‘ to descend to particulars: let it suffice that the Na-
 ‘ bob Mahubbit Cawn, the eldest son, and the rest of
 ‘ the family of Hafiz, who are under close confine-
 ‘ ment (the Begums and other women included) have
 ‘ been driven to the necessity of making private sup-
 ‘ plications for a little rice and water.

‘ I wish, my friend, to leave scenes which none but
 ‘ the merciless Sujah can bear without heart-bleeding
 ‘ pain. Relieve me, therefore, as soon as possible,
 ‘ and oblige,

‘ Dear Sir, &c.

‘ (Signed) A. CHAMPION.’

And the witness was then asked;
 Did you write that letter to Mr. Hastings?
 I did.

[Then

[Then the following Extract of a Letter, as inserted in a Letter to the Court of Directors, dated Fort William, 30th November 1774, signed J. Clavering, Geo. Monson, P. Francis, and contained in No. 45 of the Appendix of the said Report, was read to the Witness; viz.]

‘ I AM most heartily disposed to believe, that the
 ‘ Board did not suspect their orders could have such
 ‘ consequences as have fallen out ; they could not have
 ‘ foreseen so sudden and so total an expulsion and down-
 ‘ fall of a whole race of people ; they could not have
 ‘ supposed that a man, exalted and supported by Bri-
 ‘ tish arms, could pay so very little deference to the
 ‘ advices and council of a British Commander ; nor
 ‘ was it possible to conceive that a man, who had him-
 ‘ self tasted the gall of misfortune, should be so totally
 ‘ unmindful of the unbounded and unparalleled grace
 ‘ shewn to him, as to delight in denying a single ray
 ‘ of benevolence to others : such, however, has been
 ‘ the case, and in due intimation of it I have dis-
 ‘ charged that which was incumbent upon me. I too
 ‘ can say, that the Nabob, as the agent of oppression,
 ‘ is alone culpable : but, whilst all Asia knows that the
 ‘ English gave him the rod, and whilst they in vain
 ‘ look up to them as those who ought, if not to direct
 ‘ the application, at least to prevent an ill use being
 ‘ made of that rod, will they not reasonably conclude,
 ‘ that the scourges which the agent gives are connived
 ‘ at ? Will they not say, that every English Chief is
 ‘ another Sujah ?’

Then the Witness was asked ;

Did you write a letter of the 15th of June 1774, to Mr. Hastings, containing that paragraph ?

I did.

[Then the following extracts of a letter from the witness to the Governor General and Council, dated, 30th of January 1775, and inserted in Fort William secret consultations of 14th of February 1775, was read

read to the witness, from the Appendix No. 45, to the same report; viz.]

“ Consider my friend,” says his Excellency repeatedly to Mr Hastings, “ that it was my absolute determination to extirpate the Rohillas, and that I requested the assistance of the English for that purpose.”

“ However well it is known, that his excellency is equal to the barbarous design for which he thus publicly and daringly avows the solicited aid of the English. Is it possible we can believe, that the respectable gentleman here traduced, could have been privy to so horrid a purpose? Could he have been so lost to every sense of honour, as to prostitute the English troops, and to stain the glory of the British name, by subscribing to a preconcerted massacre?—What is not his Excellency capable of advancing?”

And then the witness was asked;

Did you write a letter to the Governor General and Council, dated the 30th of January 1775, containing those paragraphs?

To the best of my remembrance I did.

Who did you mean by the words, respectable gentleman?

Mr. Hastings.

[Then the following Extracts of the same Letter were read to the Witness; viz.]

“ The moment he arrived at Bissoulee, however, they were put into rigorous confinement, denied access to their families, robbed of their property, and themselves and their women treated not only with dishonour and indignity, but even with cruelty.

“ The unhappy Chiefs preferred frequent complaints to me in the most moving terms, and sent the Nabob’s original letters to prove how much he had deceived them.

“ He has deprived us of our country, of our riches, and even of our honour; and, not satisfied with that,
“ he

“ he is going to send us prisoners to Hyzabad. We
 “ desire no country, no riches, no houses : but at Bif-
 “ soulee are the tombs of our noble ancestors ; near
 “ them, under some shade, we beg permission to
 “ spend the remainder of our days as Faquiers. Rely-
 “ ing on the Vizier’s promises, we remained in this
 “ country, otherwise we should have fled, as the other
 “ Chiefs did, and have preserved our characters and
 “ honours : these he has taken away with our effects ;
 “ and how he has dishonoured us, is known to all.”

‘ It was this deceitful conduct, this inhuman treat-
 ‘ ment, that filled the minds of all the fugitive Chiefs
 ‘ with such a distrust and detestation of the Nabob.

‘ And, although my representations of the distresses
 ‘ of the family of Hafiz were ungraciously received, and,
 ‘ I am sorry to say, gave me but little encouragement
 ‘ to plead the cause of the unhappy, yet I regret ex-
 ‘ ceedingly that I have so long suppressed my inclina-
 ‘ tions of endeavouring to alleviate the misfortunes of
 ‘ the much-injured Chiefs to whom these letters were
 ‘ addressed, and who, as well as the family of Hafiz, I
 ‘ have good reason to believe are even now stinted of
 ‘ the necessaries of life ; and when I was on the way
 ‘ down, I received the affecting accounts of the death
 ‘ of twenty-five of these ill-fated prisoners since their
 ‘ arrival at Allahabad, for want of sustenance.’

Then the witness was asked ;

Did you write a representation to the effect of the pa-
 ragraphs now read to you ?

To the best of my remembrance I did.

Having made these representations to Mr. Hastings,
 did you receive any, and what, answer to them ?

I beg to observe to the Committee, that near twelve
 years have elapsed since that period ; in the course of
 which time, not one year has passed in which I have
 not been confined to my bed eight months ; in conse-
 quence of which, I find my memory much weakened,
 and I have it not in my power to answer to facts : I
 therefore desire the indulgence of the Committee to re-
 fer

fer to the correspondence which passed between the Board, Mr. Hastings, and myself, for such circumstances as I cannot immediately recollect.

Do you recollect having at any time written to Mr. Hastings to this effect: "That you was apprehensive
" of having given displeasure by a too free communication of your sentiments on the subject of Sujah Dowlah's conduct, in the matter referred to in the former part of this your examination?"

I believe there is such a letter in the correspondence.

Was you ever authorized or impowered by Mr. Hastings, to interpose with the Vizier to put a stop to such proceedings of his as you objected to?

I think I was.

How did you interpose?

By frequent representations to the Vizier.

Were you instructed to interpose by the use of your power?

I believe not.

Had you any success in your representations?

It did not appear to me that I had.

Did you represent that want of success to Mr. Hastings?

I think I did.

Did he give you further instructions to interfere?

To the best of my recollection Mr. Hastings acquainted me, that he had written to the agent, Mr. Middleton, to use all his influence with the Vizier to stop those enormities which had been represented by me?

Do you know whether the agent succeeded better than you did?

I never understood he did.

Whether the Rohillas had ever been engaged in hostilities of any kind against the English, before their country was invaded by us?

I do not recollect they had.

Do you know, or have you heard, that the Rohillas ever offered an injury of any kind, direct or indirect, to the English?

It never came to my knowledge that they did.

Whether, if you had been authorised by Mr. Hastings

ings to use that power which you possessed as commander of the British troops, you could not have prevented those proceedings of the Nabob which you so much disapproved?

I think I could.

Do you know of any charge preferred by Sujah Dowlah to the Council against the Rohilla Chiefs, as the ground for the invasion of the Rohilla territories?

No.

Do you know of any official notification given, either by the Council or by Mr. Hastings, to the Rohilla Chiefs, concerning any complaints made against them, previous to the order for commencing hostilities against them?

In answer to that question I can only observe, that I was not in the administration at that time.

[Then the following Extract of a Letter to the Witnesses, dated Fort William, 1st July 1774, signed Warren Hastings, W. Aldersey, P. M. Dacres, and entered in No. 27 of the Appendix to the said Report, was read to the Witnesses; viz.]

' THE intemperate and tyrannical conduct of the
' Vizier after his conquests, as you have represented,
' cannot fail to prove highly dissatisfactory to us; and
' although we do not regard ourselves either as answer-
' able for his actions, or obliged absolutely to interfere
' for restraining them, yet we should have been glad to
' have been furnished with such materials as would ena-
' ble us, upon good grounds, to expostulate with him
' on the injustice and impropriety of such a conduct.
' It was in this view that we requested you to acquaint
' us with the instances of his cruelties: but we confess
' ourselves exceedingly disappointed, in receiving, in-
' stead of a precise account of facts, only three letters
' of loose declamation, which, however pathetically
' written, contain not one single instance of the Vizier's
' particular cruelty towards the family of Hafiz; and
' indeed express only such sentiments as we can easily
' conceive to exist in the breasts of that unfortunate fa-
' mily, from reflecting on the sad reverse of their for-
' tune

'tune alone, without supposing any peculiar hardship
 'in their case, or uncommon act of oppression in the
 'Vizier: for this reason, we repeat our desire to be
 'furnished with a particular account of the treatment
 'which the family of Hafiz Rhamet has received, and
 'we shall then take such steps for their relief as the
 'circumstances shall require. In the mean time, we
 'hope that the remonstrances which the President in-
 'forms us he has directed the Resident to make to the
 'Vizier, on this subject, will be sufficient to render any
 'more direct interposition needless.'

Then the witness was asked ;

Did you receive a letter from the Governor and Select Committee, of the 1st of July 1774, containing that paragraph ?

I believe I did.

Whether you, in answer to that letter, sent any such particular account, as was desired by the Governor and Select Committee, of the treatment which the family of Hafiz Rhamet had received ?

In answer to that question I must observe, that, repeatedly, before the date of that letter and afterwards, I thought the remonstrances I made were sufficient, and therefore did not comply with the orders I received.

Whether the Rohilla nation consists of Mahometans or Hindoos ?

I believe they are Hindoos.

Were they who cultivated the lands driven out of the country, or allowed to remain in it ?

To the best of my remembrance, they were allowed to remain in it.

Were the military part of the nation, excepting those who fell in battle, put to death, or only required to cross the Ganges ?

To the best of my remembrance they were required only to cross the Ganges.

[Then

[Then the following letter from the witness to the President and Select Committee, entered in the Appendix, No. 28, to the same Report, was read to the witness; viz.]

‘ To the Honourable Warren Hastings, Esquire,
‘ President, &c. Members of the Select Com-
‘ mittee.

‘ Gentlemen,

‘ I WAS duly favoured with your letters of the
‘ 1st and 14th July. To the first I would have re-
‘ plied earlier, but that I wished to comply with your
‘ desire of obtaining information concerning the iden-
‘ tity of Meer Fettee Aly; and I now enclose the de-
‘ clarations of several persons, particularly that of the
‘ nurse who suckled him, in testimony of his being
‘ the real son of Saddoe Aly.

‘ The sum which you have been pleased to allot for
‘ his expences, is by no means adequate to his most
‘ necessary disbursements. Besides furnishing him with
‘ tents and other necessaries, I have given him 500
‘ rupees monthly, before the receipt of your letter:
‘ this being a very moderate allowance, especially
‘ whilst he is moving about with the army, I have
‘ taken upon me to continue it; and I flatter myself
‘ it will meet with approbation. I wish to receive fur-
‘ ther instructions concerning him.

‘ Regarding my letter of the 11th June, I am to
‘ observe, with all due submission, gentlemen, that
‘ you must have greatly misapprehended it. I never
‘ wished, nor expressed a wish, to be the arbiter of
‘ peace and war with the Vizier; neither to have the
‘ power of correcting his excesses by force. “ A
‘ full authority effectually to prevent his perpetrat-
‘ ing any enormity under the shield of our strength,
‘ &c.” is no more or less of denying to second or
‘ countenance such proceedings.—And has the Admi-
‘ nistration no such authority over the Company’s
‘ troops?—If not, gentlemen, I am afraid the ex-
‘ pression which has been excepted against, “ that
‘ the British name is in the hands of the Vizier,” is
‘ but too much justified.

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‘ It

‘ It is said, that if the British name is in any manner
 ‘ committed, it must be from the treaty itself; and I
 ‘ am charged with want of candour for not having
 ‘ stated the reflection earlier. After my acknowledg-
 ‘ ments for this compliment, I answer, that had I seen
 ‘ the treaty (which I do not recollect to have done) it
 ‘ would be vanity in me to imagine that I could disco-
 ‘ ver faults in it, which has escaped the notice of so
 ‘ many gentlemen of nicer discernment. If I did not
 ‘ foresee the evil, it is enough on my part that I com-
 ‘ plained so soon as I was sensible of its effects; the
 ‘ power of administering a remedy, lay elsewhere,

‘ It is true, gentlemen, that declamation is usual
 ‘ in representing distress; and therefore I should not
 ‘ have been surprized that the letters which I trans-
 ‘ mitted to you, had but little effect on your percep-
 ‘ tions, if I had not at the same time attested the truth
 ‘ of the complaints, which I will venture to say, bear
 ‘ more than one or two instances of cruelty: I might
 ‘ add others; such as these unhappy captives being
 ‘ driven to the necessity of supplicating and receiving
 ‘ alms from myself, and gentlemen of my family, to
 ‘ purchase sustenance; their even begging for water
 ‘ to drink; their struggling who should first be served
 ‘ with it; &c. In short, the proofs of the gross mal-
 ‘ treatment of these families, amount to an axiom in
 ‘ the minds of the English army, and even in the Vi-
 ‘ zier’s own troops.

‘ Mr. Middleton, I presume, has informed the Pre-
 ‘ sident of the result of his application to the Vizier
 ‘ concerning the forty lacks.

‘ The troops continue to enjoy good health. No
 ‘ remarkable occurrence since my last.

‘ I remain,

‘ Camp near Mehanpore,
 3 Sept. 1774.

‘ with respect, &c.

‘ A. CHAMPION.’

Then the witness was asked;
 Is that your letter?
 Yes.

Whether

Whether a very considerable part of the Rohilla nation, governed by Fyzoolla Cawn, did not remain, by treaty, with Sujah Dowlah, in possession of the country they had before occupied?

The witness desired to explain the answer before given, that he meant, that he did not, after receiving the letter of the 1st of July 1774, send to the Presidency, letters of other persons, complaining of the condition of the Rohillas; but, not that he did not write afterwards on that subject to the Presidency himself.

Then the last question being repeated;

The witness answered;

There were a great many remained.

Whether you had any other proof of the rigorous treatment of the Rohilla prisoners, than their own representations?

The proof I had was chiefly from spies placed in a situation to receive that intelligence.

You have said that the Rohillas were compelled to cross the Ganges—did they not find others of their countrymen on the other side of the Ganges, under Zabita Cawn?

It is impossible for me to tell that.

You have said, a considerable number remained in the Rohilla country under Fyzoolla Cawn—Can you inform the House about what number remained?

I can only answer to the best of my recollection, that there might be, including followers, about 45,000 men.

Do not you mean of the whole nation settled in the Rohilla country?

Those men that were under arms.

Do you mean that that number remained in the Rohilla country with Fyzoolla Cawn?

I certainly do.

What was the number of the nation computed at before Sujah Dowlah and the English troops entered the country?

It is impossible for me to answer to that: the country is very extensive, and very full of inhabitants.

Can you inform the Committee about what number of the Rohillas were required to pass the Ganges?

It is impossible for me to ascertain the number; but I suppose about 20,000, followers included.

Whether you apprehend many of the Rohillas fell in battle?

There was a number, but I cannot tell how many.

Whether that part of the country which is still possessed by Fyzoolla Cawn is a considerable part of what was called the Rohilla country?

Yes.

Do you think there were as many fell in battle and slaughtered as passed the Ganges?

What fell in battle might be about one eleventh part of what passed the Ganges: I know nothing of any being slaughtered.

About the time the British troops entered the Rohilla country, did not you find reason to suspect that some part of the Rohilla chiefs had entered into private negotiations with the Mahrattas to support them in the breach of treaty with Sujah Dowlah?

I do not recollect such a circumstance.

Whether the nabob encouraged the negotiation you had with Fyzoolla Cawn, for the security of the remainder of the Rohillas, and their possession of the district of Rampoor?

I cannot charge my memory with that—The correspondence will explain that.

Did Mr. Hastings encourage that negotiation?

That the correspondence will also explain.

Whether Fyzoolla Cawn did not consent to pay a large sum of money to the Vizier, in consideration of the settlement allowed him?

I think he did.

Whether you know of any offer made to the Rohillas, to compromise the differences between them and the Vizier, before the actual invasion of their country?

I before observed, I was not in the Administration above a few days before I set out for the army, and therefore know of no such occurrence.

Whether

Whether you was authorized to offer any mediation on the part of the Presidency, between the Rohillas and Sujah Dowlah ?

I cannot charge my memory with that—The correspondence will explain the whole.

Whether a great deal of specie and plunder, and valuable effects, were not taken by the Vizier in that war ?

I did understand there was.

Are you able to form any judgment concerning the populousness and cultivation of the Rohilla country, at the time you invaded it ?

At the time we entered the country it appeared to be well inhabited, and the culture in a flourishing state.

Of what description of persons were the followers composed, that made part of the 20,000 that passed the Ganges ?

The followers I understand to be servants of all denominations.

What proportion might the number of followers bear to the number of fighting men ?

I suppose the followers were at least three to one.

Do you know what is the common proportion that followers bear to the number of fighting men in expeditions in India—in the Indostan troops ?

About three to one—it may be more.

Do those followers accompany the armies in general in distant expeditions ?

I conceive they do on all occasions.

Is the number of followers proportioned to the rank of persons in the army ?

Some have 500, and some none.

Have even private soldiers some attendants ?

I do not know how it is in the Native armies.

How is it in the British armies ?

At least 10 to 1.

Was any large proportion of the Rohillas, cavalry ?

Yes.

Is not the number of followers greater in cavalry than in infantry ?

I should

I should suppose they were.

Whether, in consequence of the representations you made to Mr. Hastings, of the cruel and tyrannical behaviour of the Nabob, and the orders you said Mr. Hastings sent in consequence to Mr. Middleton the resident, the disorders complained of ceased?

The correspondence will explain that.

Whether any of the Rohillas were permitted to remain in the Rohilla country, except those who remained under the government of Fyzoolla Cawn?

I do not recollect there were.

Do you understand then, that the whole Rohilla nation amounted only to those who remained under Fyzoolla Cawn, those who fell in battle, and the 20,000 who crossed the Ganges?

By no means.

What then became of the residue?

If it is meant of the inhabitants of the country, many and many thousands remained.—I thought the question related only to those in arms.

Whether the spies you mentioned acquainted you with particular instances of cruelty, or only gave you general information?—Did they name particular persons on whom the cruelty was committed, and the particular species of cruelty?

I believe that in the correspondence, the manner in which I received the intelligence is particularly pointed out, and the hardships that were inflicted.

Then you was not acquainted with any particular instance, except what are stated in the correspondence with the Governor and Council?

Every thing is at large in the correspondence.

Whether, after you received the directions of the Governor and Select Committee, to state particular instances, you applied either to the same spies, or to any others, or to any other persons, to furnish you with any other particulars than what you had before that time stated?

I before observed, I cannot carry my remembrance to every particular occurrence.—The correspondence will explain the whole.

Who

Who employed the spies ?

By my orders.

Whether any persons were driven over the Ganges, except people in arms, and the followers of the camp and their families ?

I do not believe there was a man.

Whether it is as likely, that as many should follow a number of fugitives expelled their country as generally attend a well-appointed army ?

I should think not.

Whether you employed a confidential aid de camp, or other officer under your command, to ascertain the truth of the cruelties and barbarities that were represented to you by the Rohilla prisoners, and the intelligence given by the spies ?

The duty was allotted to one man for that purpose.

Who was that man ?

Colonel Macpherson.

What was the intelligence he gave you on that subject ?

It is mentioned in the correspondence.

At the time when the Governor and Select Committee informed you, that they had directed Mr. Middleton to use his influence with the Vizier, upon what terms were you and the Vizier then ?

We were at all times on good terms.

What was the duty of Colonel Macpherson ?

He had the charge of all the spies.

Was it any thing more than to receive the intelligence brought by those spies, and to make his report of it to you ?

I said before, I received all the intelligence from him.

Do you mean the intelligence only from the spies, or any other intelligence ?

There is a kind of intelligence that comes by letter—I had no other intelligence than what came by him.

Did you employ Colonel Macpherson for the purpose of obtaining a knowledge of any supposed cruelties exercised against the Rohillas ?

I answered that before.

And then the witness was directed to withdraw.

[Then the following Extract from No. 45 of the Appendix to the said Report of the Committee of Secrecy, was read; viz.

‘ Account of the names, and situation of the surviving
‘ parts of the families of Hafiz Rhamut and the
‘ other Rohilla chiefs.

‘ HAFIZ Rhamut left twelve sons and nine daughters. Three of the sons, named Irradut Cawn, Mohubbut Cawn, and Zolefehkar Cawn, are in camp. The first, being the eldest, had three hundred rupees a month settled on him by the late Vizier, which has been regularly paid him : He was countenanced by Sella Jung ; and in hopes of obtaining by his influence a rossialla and some lands ; but as affairs are at present situated, there is little chance of his succeeding. The second had one thousand rupees a month settled on him, but it has never been paid ; and the third had an allowance of ten or fifteen rupees a day, which is now discontinued. The remaining nine sons, his daughters, seventeen of his women, seven of the wives of his sons, and one of the late Emrayut Cawn, who was his eldest son, together with some of his distant relations and the dependants of the family, to the number of four hundred persons, are all in confinement at Allahabad.

‘ Doonda Cawn left three sons, named Mahub ulla Cawn, Fitte ulla Cawn, and Azim ulla Cawn ; they, their wives, together with the widows of Doonda Cawn, and many of the relations of the family, to the number of two hundred persons, are all confined at Allahabad.

‘ Serdar Cawn left seven sons, named Ahmud Cawn, Mahomed Cawn, Saadut Cawn, Mahaabut Cawn, Rehmaan Cawn, Hubiib Cawn, and Azim Cawn ; all of whom, excepting Saadut Cawn, who is at liberty in this camp, are with Zebita Cawn.

‘ Fitte Cawn left six sons, all of whom are with Fyzoolla Cawn ; but they, like the rest who were released,

‘ leased, have had no allowances made them by the
‘ Nabob.

‘ A wife of Fitte Cawn, and two wives of his sons,
‘ with their dependants and servants, to the number of
‘ forty-four persons, are in confinement at Allahabad.

‘ Besides these above-mentioned, there is a son of
‘ Abdut Jebnar Cawn, who married a daughter of
‘ Doodnah Cawn, and many Rosalladars and other
‘ Rohillas, of whom the late Vizier was jealous, in
‘ confinement at Allahabad. The whole number may
‘ amount to one thousand; for the support of whom,
‘ the Nabob told me he had allowed two hundred ru-
‘ pees a day; but it is not regularly paid them; for
‘ I understand they hardly get two-thirds of it.

‘ The widow and family of Saad ulla Cawn are at
‘ Fyzabad, to the number of two hundred persons.

‘ (Signed) JOHN BRISTOW.’

[Then three several Extracts of a Letter from Mr.
Bristow, Resident at the Court of the Nabob of
Oude, to the Governor General and Council, dated
the 11th of April 1775, were read; viz.

‘ AT several interviews with his Excellency, I urged
‘ him to grant those at Allahabad their freedom, and
‘ some certain and honourable provision: But, as he
‘ is exceedingly jealous of them, he refused to do
‘ either; and said, in regard to a provision for them,
‘ That he allowed them as much as he was able. On
‘ the Nabob’s deputing Murtehze Cawn to Fyzabad,
‘ he directed him to seize all the effects of the widow
‘ of Saad ulla Cawn. I had no intelligence of it till
‘ after his departure; and then only as a report which
‘ I did not credit; and asked his Excellency whether
‘ it was true? He positively denied it. Two or three
‘ days after, I was told for certain, that such an or-
‘ der had been issued. It then became my duty to
‘ enter into a particular explanation of the meaning
‘ of the Honourable Board in interceding for the fa-
‘ milies of the Rohilla chiefs; which I accordingly
‘ did, in a written representation in the Persian lan-
‘ guage, a copy of which I herewith inclose.

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‘ I re-

‘ I respectfully desired to be favoured with an answer in writing, agreeable to which I would inform the Honourable Board. I had always before this met with the politest treatment from his Excellency ; but after he had read my representation, he of a sudden adopted a different mode of behaviour ; said, the English wanted to release his enemies, but he, on his part, would never consent to it. I desired him to consider the matter deliberately, and then reply ; for I was persuaded the Honourable Board would listen to his reasons with great willingness, and be happy on all occasions of shewing their regard for him. In the course of the conversation, his Excellency observed, That unless he should conceive it for his interest, he would never comply with any proposal, or insert any condition in the new treaty, not specified in the former ones subsisting with his late father, in which no mention was made of granting freedom to the families of the Rohilla chiefs, and consequently no obligation on him to do it.

‘ Though his Excellency both denied his having ordered the effects of the widow of Saad ulla Cawn to be seized, and promised me it should not be done, yet he had directed it ; and there was really at one time guards placed upon her house : As a proof, I inclose the extract of a letter from Fyzabad, asserting the fact ; and can assure the Honourable Board, that it has been confirmed by intelligence through other channels. Finding, from this circumstance, that his Excellency had only trifled with me, I took the method of a written representation, hoping that he would be more cautious in a reply under his hand, which could not be afterwards contradicted. Notwithstanding his Excellency was so dissatisfied at my request, yet I hope my conduct will meet with the approbation of the Honourable Board.

‘ When I reminded his Excellency about answering my representation relative to the families of the Rohilla chiefs, he said he had done it in a letter to the Honourable the Governor General.’

MAJOR.

MAJOR MARSACK called in, and examined.

How long have you been in India, and are you acquainted with the Northern provinces, and in what offices have you served?

I beg leave to submit to the Committee the situation in which I stand at present before it: Wholly unknown to the prosecutors on the one hand, and having no communication with Mr. Hastings on the other, I was, till this evening, totally in the dark regarding the nature of the questions to be put to me; but supposing, from the length of time I served in India, and from my having been appointed surveyor of the province of Oude as early as the year 1769, that from the researches I had made into the former and present state of those countries, it was probable I should be questioned thereon, I have, considering the great length of time back, furnished my memory with every particular in my power.

Then the question was repeated to the witness.

I was in India from the year 1765 to the beginning of the year 1783, and I am acquainted with the Northern Provinces.—I was Lieutenant in the army when I was appointed Surveyor of the Province of Oude, as I have before observed, and during the course of that service.

Then the witness was directed to withdraw.

And being called in again, he went on with his answer as follows:

I was promoted to the rank of Captain soon after the arrival of General Clavering.—I was ordered to the Presidency of Fort William by him, to render an account of the service I had been engaged in; which done, the General thought proper to appoint me to the command of the first regiment of Cavalry in the Vizier's service in Oude.—I filled that station until September 1773, to the best of my recollection. At my appointment to the command of the regiment of cavalry, at the instance of the Vizier, under whose government the Presidency of Fort William had placed

me, I raised at my own expence, and disciplined the same regiment.

Was you acquainted with the situation of the remaining families of the Rohilla chiefs ?

I am.

What was it ?

If I am to go into the situation of the different chiefs, I shall commence with my observations on that of Hafiz Rhamet, the principal. I hope I shall be held excused with respect to dates, if to them I am not so particular ; but as near as I can recollect, in the year 1780, when I travelled through the Rohilla country on my way to the imperial city of Delhi, I found, in the capital of that prince, Barelli, that his wives and children were confined to their palace in very indigent circumstances ; that they, as well as the sons of Doonda Cawn, who were at that period at Mooradabad, were in the greatest distress.---The sons of Doonda Cawn, Mahub ulla Cawn, and Fitte ulla Cawn ---I had several conferences with them ;---they pleaded a breach of faith on the part of the Nabob Vizier Sujah Dowlah, who had left them in the extremest necessity of circumstances, notwithstanding they had been the first to join the English and the Vizier.---That Fizoolla Cawn, who had never shewn that readiness, was not only re-instated in his former possessions, but had received an accession of territory ; and, in short, that they, as well as the women and children of Hafiz Rhamet, were reduced to the miserable state I was then an eye-witness of, namely, to such extreme want, as to sell the furniture of their houses and the habits of their women.

What observations did you make upon the state of the Rohilla country, previous to the invasion of it by the Nabob and the British army ?

It was a country I never had any good opportunity of making observations upon until after I had resigned the Company's service in the province of Oude. The purport of my journey before mentioned, in 1780, was to make remarks on the country of the Rohillas.—I visited all the principal places therein, and
from

from the best authority, as well as my own immediate remarks on the vestiges of its former grandeur and opulence, I drew the conclusion of its once flourishing state : but it is a thing well known, that the country possesses great natural advantages, which was cultivated and brought to light by the industry and good policy of the Rohilla tribes. In the principal cities of Shajehanpoor, Bareilly, Oulah, Bissoulee, Sumbel, Mooradabad, Darenagur, and several other places, I perceived the ruins and vestiges of public and private buildings of the greatest magnificence presenting themselves amidst the ruins of colleges, churches, baths, palaces, and other buildings ; which clearly proved to my comprehension the state of population, and flourishing condition of Rohilcund : That round these cities, as far as the eye could reach over a vast expanse, there could be seen deserted villages in ruins, and the traces of once-cultivated lands now laying waste : That these large cities scarcely contained one tenth part of their original inhabitants ; I mean, at the period when the British troops and those of the Vizier invaded the country : That, on entering the present possessions of Fizoolla Cawn, the contrast was strongly marked, by numerous and well-peopled villages, environed by the highest cultivation : That there is scarcely a spot in that Prince's dominions which is not so cultivated ; and which I found owing to the good police and encouragement given by the Prince, in contradistinction to the modes pursued in farming and collecting the Revenues in all the other parts of the Rohilla country, of which Fizoolla Cawn's is a very small proportion indeed.

What was the opinion of the remaining inhabitants concerning the change of the administration of revenues and police, effected since the country was subdued by the British troops ?

It may be necessary, in order to elucidate that circumstance, and to throw all the lights in my power on the subject, to say, that the present mode of farming and collecting the revenues of the country has tended to the almost total extinction of revenue.

Is there a good police, order, or magistracy, established in that country ?

There is not. The natives of the country (I mean the original Hindoos, who are the principal cultivators of the soil) much lamented the loss of their former masters (the Rohillas) who had originally come into the country as soldiers of fortune and adventurers : That, on establishing their government, they had laid aside the sword, and turned their minds to the cultivation and prosperity of the country : That, owing to their mild government, the country had arrived to the greatest height of opulence ; but that since the Vizier was under the auspices of the English, and without whose aid he never could have made a conquest of them, the country had been gradually declining : That the oppressions and exactions of the Aumils or Collectors appointed by the Nabob of Oude and the English Administration of his Court, had, by their mode adopted, compelled great numbers of the original inhabitants (Hindoos) and the Mahometans under whom they cultivated the lands, in many parts, to leave their native land, and seek that protection in a foreign country denied them in their own ; they declared they had no police left in the country, and that numbers of them had been constrained, after parting with every thing they had, to go into Fizoolla Cawn's country, where it was difficult to find employment, from the number of inhabitants.

What are your observations on the comparative state of the province of Oude Proper, since you were first acquainted with it, and when you last left it ?

To go into this question, and to answer it with that degree of precision, and in as full and complete a manner as may be acceptable to the Committee, I shall set out with observing, that I was presented to the Vizier Sujah Dowlah early in 1770 ; that I commenced my enquiries from that period. In order to give the Committee some comprehensive State of the former and present state of the province, I shall by leave say, that the province is divided into five circars or districts, namely, Oude, Lucknow, Kyrabad, Baraich, and

and Boorapoor.---At that time the Zemindary of Benares, which was formerly comprehended in the Zemindary of Allahabad, was an appendage to the Subadarry of Oude, but not comprehended in the five circars.---I commenced my enquiries and surveys in the circars of Oude and Boorapoor; and afterwards, in 1771, passed through them, and continued my observations on the mountainous parts of the country bordering thereon; and afterwards proceeded to make observations on the districts of Baraich, Kyrabad, and Lucknow: On this service, with very little interval, I was employed till 1777. Before the accession of the present Nabob Asoph ul Dowlah it was in a flourishing state; the revenue was collected with moderation, and the manufacturers were in a flourishing state.---That two of the most considerable manufacturers in all the dominions, namely Mow and Cuper, had, in 1771, about 20,000 weavers employed: That they gradually decreased on the accession of the present Nabob, and at length dwindled away to a few hundreds.---That the country of Boorapoor, under the management and controul of a Persian by birth, and who had been many years employed as Phoufdar by the Nabob Sujah Dowlah, was extremely well cultivated, considering it to be a country much taken up by woods: That he encouraged a trade and intercourse with the Hill Rajah's bordering thereupon: That he had established a good police in the principal city of Boorapoor.---That the district of Baraich was in a very flourishing state till a short time after the death of Sujah Dowlah: That the towns and villages were populous, the soil well cultivated, and the inhabitants perfectly happy under their collectors. But that soon after the accession of the present Nabob, and that his Ministers became connected with the English Administration, the country has considerably fallen off in its revenues, and the villages many of them deserted, and large tracts of land entirely laid waste and desolate. That it is a well-known fact to many gentlemen who have travelled through the Subadarry of Oude, that the whole of it is in a very impoverished state

state, but that the districts of Baraich and Boorapoor have experienced misfortunes peculiar to themselves. That the natives have been obliged, after giving up every thing they had, to sell even their cattle and implements of husbandry; and because they had not the means of subsisting their children, have been obliged to sell them to slavery.—That an English battalion, to the best of my recollection, which was in that country under the command of Captain Crab, that one battalion brought with it nearly as many slaves as there were men and followers, and this from a country where no dearth had prevailed, and the calamities of which had been brought on by mismanagement. I could speak to many other places where great manufactories have been carried on, and to the situation of many other parts of the Province; but I am apprehensive that the task put upon me, would carry me to a length beyond the patience of the Committee.—To sum it up in a few words, the country was, before the accession of the present Nabob, and the interference of the British government, in a very flourishing situation; and since that influence, it has declined into its present state.

Do you know at what time Lieutenant Colonel Hannay was appointed to the management and office of Collector of Revenues at Baraich?

I do not recollect exactly the time; but I remember the circumstance of his appointment.

Did he hold a military as well as civil command in that country?

Doubtless he did. A Phousdar and Collector of the Revenues in the Eastern government are frequently combined in one and the same person.

By whose authority did Colonel Hannay receive the appointment?

I cannot answer that question by tracing it to its source; but he certainly did receive it from the Nabob officially, who, some time after Colonel Hannay had been in the administration and collection of that country, did dispossess him of the same.

Was

Was the appointment of Colonel Hannay a voluntary act of the Nabob, or the effect of a recommendation from the government of Fort William ?

I cannot say how far the Nabob appointed him at first; but after he had deprived him of his Collectorship, and appointed a native in his room, applications were made for the re-instatement of Colonel Hannay.

Do you know for what reason he displaced him ?

I cannot positively say; but I have always understood, and it has been universally understood by every gentleman at Lucknow, that he was dismissed by the Nabob from his employments on account of his bad administration and management.

Do you attribute the distresses of the natives of that district to the mismanagement of Colonel Hannay ?

I had never the least doubt of it.

Do you know from whom the application for reinstating Colonel Hannay was made to the Nabob ?

I cannot for a certainty reply to that, further than what the Nabob himself informed me; and I believe it will be uncontradicted by any gentleman, that he was again appointed, in positive opposition to the Nabob, who made no secret of expressing the cruel situation he was reduced to, in again appointing a man who had reduced the country under his management to the situation it was in.

Do you know whether the Nabob received from Mr. Hastings a letter equivalent to a positive order to reinstate Colonel Hannay ?

I have understood from the Nabob himself, and from the representations of different natives of his court, that, after resisting various applications for the reinstatement of Colonel Hannay, he had received a letter from the Boroson (by which is understood the Governor General) to countenance and reinstate the Collector in his office as Farmer and Collector of that country, as well as Military Commander.

Do you know in what manner the Nabob received that order, or what effect it had on him ?

His feelings seemed very much hurt on the occasion.

At what time did you resign the service of the East India Company?

I cannot answer the question exactly.

Was it in January 1779?

I fancy it was previous to that; but I have a paper will inform me I believe.—It is in January 1779.

What was your rank in the service at that time?

In the Company's service, a Captain.

Had you a superior rank in any other service?

As is usual with British officers, we had the rank and emolument of the rank next above us.

Had you a superior commission in any other service?

None of the British officers appointed to the Nabob's service had any other commission than what they had in the Company's service.

Was you upon service under Sir Robert Barker in 1773, or under Colonel Champion in 1774, in Rohilcund; or was you in the country before the conquest of it by Sujah Dowlah?

No.

When did you receive the summons of this House to attend this Committee?

I duly received it immediately after the date of it, and attended the 3d of April in consequence of it.

[Then part of a former answer given by this witness, in the first part of his examination, viz.

“ That he was wholly unknown to the prosecutors on the one hand, and had had no communication with Mr. Hastings on the other,” was read to the witness;]

And he then was asked,

Have you had any conversation with Mr. Hastings since your return to England?

No.

Have you written a letter to Mr. Hastings since you received the summons of this House?

I did.

Have you written more than one letter to Mr. Hastings since you received the summons of this House?

The letter was followed by two notes to him, in consequence of not having received an answer to it.

Did you receive an answer to either of those two notes?

No.

[Then two notes and a letter being produced by a member of the Committee, and shewn to the witness at the bar; the witness, upon being asked, admitted they were of his hand-writing.]

And then he said;

I avow the writing of those notes to Mr. Hastings; but they are of a private nature; they are in consequence of a demand of a private nature originating in, and which I made a demand of previous to my leaving, Bengal.

Then the notes and letters were brought up to the table; and it being proposed that they should be read;

The same was objected to;

And the witness was directed to withdraw.

And being again called in;

The notes and letter were read, and are as followeth; viz.

‘ Directed to Mr. Hastings.

‘ Major Marfack presents his compliments to Mr. Hastings—Being averse to litigation, and desirous of avoiding a suit in equity against him and others, submits the accompanying papers and demand to his consideration. If he thinks Mr. M. has not a claim in honour and equity on him, so confident is Mr. M. that he will submit it to the arbitration of any two or more of the India friends of both parties, many of whom may now be found in London. The Major desires Mr. Hastings will peruse the attendant facts, on which he grounds his present claim, and immediately favour him with his resolve thereon, which must determine the Major’s future proceedings.’

‘ Hertford Street,

‘ Friday Night, 31st March.’

‘ Major Marfack presents his compliments to Mr. Hastings, requests to know whether or not he has re-

‘ ceived the papers he sent him on Saturday morning
‘ last, and to be favoured with his reply thereto by the
‘ bearer hereof.

‘ Tuesday Evening.’

‘ Directed to Warren Hastings, Esquire, St. James’s
‘ Place.

‘ Sir, Hertford Street, April 6th, 1786.

‘ I was surprized, at my return home last night, only
‘ to find some of the papers I sent you by my servant,
‘ instead of a reply to either of my notes on the subject
‘ of them. I have therefore to repeat my instances,
‘ that you will favour me with your resolve thereon,
‘ and that it will be such as to render an appeal to the
‘ laws of my country unnecessary; being firmly of opi-
‘ nion, that a personal interview, perhaps without the
‘ mediation of friends, would bring the matter in dis-
‘ pute to an amicable conclusion.

‘ I have the honour to be,

‘ Sir,

‘ Your ob^t Serv^t,

‘ C. MARSACK.’

[Then another paper, produced by the same Member
of the Committee, being shewn to the Witness at
the Bar, he was asked]

Did not that paper accompany one of those notes?
It did.

[Then the said Paper was delivered in, and read, and is
as followeth; viz.]

‘ Early in March 1776, Major Marsack arrived at
‘ Etowah, in consequence of orders from the Governor
‘ General and supreme Council; when the Resident at
‘ the Vizier’s Court, Mr. John Bristow, proposed to him
‘ to raise a regiment of cavalry; which the Major did at
‘ the instance of the Vizier, whose cavalry he was ap-
‘ pointed by you to command; and he did actually
‘ raise, pay, support every expence of the said regi-
‘ ment, called The First Regiment, for near twelve
‘ months,

' months, on the public faith of the English govern-
 ' ment, and on the conditions and contract made with
 ' the Vizier and Mr. Bristow, who mortgaged the re-
 ' venue of Furruckabad for the payment of the same.
 ' Paper N^o 1. Mr. Anderson's translation of the said
 ' order and mortgage.—September 1777, Mr. Marsack
 ' was deprived of the command of the cavalry, and his
 ' regiment, by the said Hastings, then Governor Ge-
 ' neral, without the least imputation of misconduct in
 ' command, and at a time when upwards of six lacks
 ' was due for advances made by Mr. Marsack for rais-
 ' ing it, at a period when disaffection reigned among
 ' the troops, and in compliance with the Vizier and
 ' Mr. Bristow's orders, which made the risk consider-
 ' able.—Follows extract of Governor General and
 ' Council to Mr. N. Middleton, dated Fort William,
 ' July 14th 1778, wherein you acknowledge my prior
 ' claim.—Paper. N^o 2. Copy of Mr. Barwell's minutes
 ' on the subject.

' Mr. Middleton having, in August 1777, exerted
 ' an undue influence to the prejudice of the Vizier's
 ' grant to me (paper N^o 1.) by writing to Abdoolah
 ' Beg Sazowal not to make me any payment, I pro-
 ' cured from Abdoolah Beg the order to him, signed
 ' N. Middleton, and with his Persian seals applied
 ' thereto. This fully proves an undue influence to de-
 ' prive Mr. Marsack of his property; and I shall fur-
 ' ther prove the Vizier's disavowal of Mr. Middleton's
 ' conduct in so doing, that although he had granted
 ' me the Furruckabad Nazuranath, yet he was without a
 ' remedy, as I must well know he had not the power
 ' left of realizing family grants, much more that which
 ' he had given me. He advised me to apply to the Go-
 ' vernor General and Council of Calcutta; which was
 ' done. They examined and passed my account; and di-
 ' rected Mr. Middleton to pay him, Mr. Marsack, in
 ' preference to every other demand. On the faith of
 ' the Governor General and Council, and the reliance I
 ' had in their orders to him being complied with, Ma-
 ' jor Marsack declined raising a regiment of Sepoys in
 ' the Company's service, and resigned his commission,

' with

' with their approbation, at Lucknow, January 9th
 ' 1779, on the exprefs condition that the Governor Ge-
 ' neral and Council suffered him to remain there till all
 ' his demands on that Court should be liquidated; yet
 ' many others were paid in preference; and Mr. Mar-
 ' sack detained by promises until August 9th 1782,
 ' at a great and unavoidable expence and loss (see let-
 ' ter, N^o 3. to Mr. R. Johnson.) If he ever sent it to
 ' Mr. Hastings, it accounted for Mr. Marsack's conduct
 ' in not leaving Lucknow when his first orders came,
 ' as he could not suppose Mr. Hastings guilty of such
 ' injustice, as to remove him before he had received his
 ' dues from the Vizier, after having accepted his resig-
 ' nation on the condition that he was not to be remov-
 ' ed till he was paid. Mr. Marsack afterwards enclos-
 ' ed the above letter to Richard Johnson, in his to Mr.
 ' Hastings, dated Benares, October 1st 1782, which
 ' was delivered to him by Mr. William Atkinson, and
 ' which produced the most cruel and arbitrary act of
 ' Mr. Hastings's government any individual ever expe-
 ' rienced. On this ground it is Mr. Marsack makes
 ' his claim on Mr. Hastings, and also on account of
 ' his having been detained by Mr. Hastings and Mr.
 ' Middleton at Lucknow, after he had resigned the
 ' service. Will it be credited here, that Mr. Mar-
 ' sack's letter of October 1st 1782, should have drawn
 ' on him such a cruel exertion of power, as to order
 ' Mr. Markham, Resident at Benares, to send a com-
 ' pany of Sepoys, and force him from Benares in
 ' twenty-four hours? Mr. Marsack had upwards of five
 ' lacks of rupees laying at Punnah, and other places,
 ' for the purpose of remitting to Europe. So sudden
 ' and disgraceful a treatment put it in great danger; to
 ' obviate which, as much as possible, he directly left
 ' Benares, after giving Mr. Markham notice that he
 ' should look to him and Mr. Hastings for any damage
 ' he might sustain thereby. The guard was actually
 ' sent by Mr. Markham after Mr. Marsack had left his
 ' house. Many gentlemen now in England will prove
 ' the universal opinion formed of this persecution of
 ' an old officer, after having allowed him to resign,

‘ as before recited. A deep sense of the injurious
 ‘ treatment he had experienced from Mr. Hastings,
 ‘ determined his return to Europe, without tak-
 ‘ ing leave of him at Calcutta; and he has not at this
 ‘ moment received to the amount of about 60,000 R^s,
 ‘ which such treatment occasioned him to leave be-
 ‘ hind. Here follows the several facts on which he
 ‘ claims of Mr. Hastings the following amount—
 ‘ viz.

‘ Sacre rupees	—	2,838 — —
‘ 2,000 R ^s per month, from 14th July		
‘ 1778 to 1st October 1782—4 yrs.		
‘ 2½ months	—	101,000 — —
		<hr/>
		103,838 — —

‘ Or £. sterling 10,383 16 0

‘ 1st, Because the sum of 2,838 S^a R^s, was passed
 ‘ by the Vizier and Mr. Bristow, resident and pay-
 ‘ master, duly authorized by the Board.

‘ 2dly. And that 2,000R^s per month is a little more
 ‘ than one half of the allowance to other gentlemen
 ‘ at Lucknow, and so comparatively moderate, as to
 ‘ render it indisputable; and which amount was out
 ‘ of my power to get from the Nabob, after Mr. Hast-
 ‘ ings’s mandate moved me down to Calcutta; the in-
 ‘ justice of which is obvious, from Mr. Marsack’s
 ‘ letter to Richard Johnson; and as Mr. Marsack can
 ‘ prove that the Nabob, through his ministers Hydra
 ‘ Beg Khaan and Rajah Tuckeat Roy, did assure Mr.
 ‘ Marsack, that he was not included in Governor
 ‘ General’s order for different gentlemen to leave
 ‘ Lucknow, but that it was his (the Vizier’s) plea-
 ‘ sure, that Mr. Marsack should remain until he paid
 ‘ him every rupee due to him; yet Mr. Marsack left
 ‘ the Court out of respect to Mr. Hastings’s order
 ‘ above-mentioned, and repaired to Benares, depend-
 ‘ ing on the honour of Mr. Hastings for payment.
 ‘ Mr. Marsack’s attorney, William Atkinson, prose-
 ‘ cuted Mr. Middleton in Calcutta, for the amount
 ‘ 67,529. 0. L^a S^a R^s, with interest, and received it;
 ‘ has

‘ has therefore no demand on that head : but Mr. Hastings will please to recollect, that Mr. Maffack’s demand on the Vizier of 2,000 R^s per month, is moderate, and what he was, and ought to be allowed, having been detained at a loss of time and expence far exceeding it. In contradistinction to double and treble allowances made to others without the Vizier’s concurrence, and it would be very hard that his claim only should be excepted, he, however, again repeats his readiness to submit it to the amicable decision of India friends to both parties. But Major Maffack desires an immediate resolve ; for which purpose, and to explain, if necessary, he will wait on Mr. Hastings any time on Sunday, 2d of April, if agreeable.’

[Then another paper, produced by the same member of the Committee, and stated to be a letter, was shewn to the witness at the bar.]

And he was asked ;

Did you employ any attorney to write that letter to Mr. Hastings ?

When I set out with saying, that I was totally unknown to the prosecutor on one hand, and had no communication with Mr. Hastings on the other, it was to submit to the consideration of the Committee, and merely to shew them, that I was totally unprepared as to the nature of the questions that might be put to me. I did not suppose that a claim of a private nature, and which originated in Bengal, and on part of which my attorney prosecuted since I left the country, and recovered, and from whose suggestions, arrived by the last advices, it occurred to me to make my claim on Mr. Hastings and others. How far my answering any questions of a private nature is incumbent on me, I leave to the Committee to determine ; they are in full possession of the origin and the progress of this demand ; and I beg they will do me the justice to believe, that no object of a private nature can possibly influence my mind.—In answer to the question, I did direct my attorney to write a letter to Mr. Hastings,

Hastings, on the subject of my demand; but whether this is the letter or no, I cannot say: but I gave directions to my attorney, in consequence of my receiving no answer from Mr. Hastings to my notes, and positive instructions to tell him, as I had repeated by letter, that I was ready to submit it to any India gentlemen Mr. Hastings chose to name, and to give my honour religiously to abide by their determination.

[Then the paper was delivered back to the member who produced it.]

Did you make any demand yourself, or instruct your attorney to demand of Mr. Hastings in Bengal 2,000 rupees per month for four years, as set forth in the paper just read?

I did, through my attorney Mr. William Atkinson;—but I submit to the judgment of the Committee, how far I am obliged to answer questions on this subject; and if I am not obliged to it, I beg to decline further answering any such questions, which may probably be brought in evidence against me, to affect my present claims.

Did you, by yourself, or any other person, make any demand of any kind upon Mr. Hastings since his arrival in Great Britain, previous to the 31st of March last?

To the last question I gave an answer, which I humbly submit as an answer to every thing which can be asked me on this subject.

And then the witness was directed to withdraw.

To report a progress, &c.

M I N U T E S

OF THE

E V I D E N C E

TAKEN BEFORE A

Committee of the House of Commons,

B E I N G

A COMMITTEE OF THE WHOLE HOUSE,

Appointed to consider of the several Articles of Charge of High Crimes and Misdemeanors, presented to the House against Warren Hastings, Esquire, late Governor General of Bengal.

P A R T II.

L O N D O N:

Printed for JOHN STOCKDALE, opposite BURLINGTON-HOUSE,
PICCADILLY, M. DCC. LXXXVI.

MINUTES

OF THE

EVIDENCE

TAKEN BEFORE A

Committee of the House of Commons

BEING

A COMMITTEE OF THE WHOLE HOUSE

Appointed to consider of the evidence of witnesses
in the case of the House of Commons
in the case of the House of Commons
in the case of the House of Commons



PART II.

LONDON:

Printed by J. G. Smith, at the House of Commons.
Price, 1s. 6d. per volume.

(4)

MINUTES, &c.

Lunæ, 8^o die Maij 1786.

COMMITTEE of the whole House on the Articles of Charge of High Crimes and Misdemeanors, presented to the House against Warren Hastings, Esquire, late Governor General of Bengal.

To the State and Condition of the Province of Oude, and its Dependencies.

MAJOR MARSACK called in, and examined.
In your evidence given on Friday last, you spoke of a claim of a private nature, and which originated in Bengal, on part of which your Attorney prosecuted since you left the country, and recovered; and from whose suggestions, arrived by the last advices, it occurred to you to make your claims on Mr. Hastings and others.—You will say, whether Mr. Hastings was concerned, directly or indirectly, in the matter for which you recovered a sum of money, and whether the money which you or your Attorney did recover, was not on account of interest for a principal sum due from the Nabob Vizier, in which Mr. Haf-

A 2

tings

(4)

tings had no concern ; and whether it exceeded the sum of 7,000 rupees ?

Then the witness being directed to withdraw.

The putting the said question to the witness was agreed by the Committee to be waved for the present.

And the witness being again called in ;

He was asked ;

Whether, after the Nabob of Oude had complained of the strong recommendations which came from Calcutta, for the restoration of Colonel Hannay, he was again restored to the collection of Baraich and Boorapoor ?

I beg leave to submit to the Committee, the situation in which I now stand as a witness at this bar—I have not courted it as an evidence—

And then the witness was directed to withdraw.

And being again called in ;

The Chairman informed him, That it was the pleasure of the Committee, that he should now proceed to answer the question put to him.

Then the question being repeated ;

The witness said,

I did not possibly aver that it came from Calcutta, but I suppose it came from thence, from what the Nabob said, that it was a letter that came from the Burra Saheb, which is generally understood to be the Governor ; and that it was generally understood at Lucknow, that it was in consequence of the Nabob's being urged by the Governor, that he was reinstated in his command.

How long did he remain after he was so reinstated ?

I cannot exactly say ; but it was a considerable time.

Did you hear that the discontents of the country ceased on his re-appointment ?

I did not, but always understood them to be considerably encreased.

Did you understand that any remission of revenue was

was granted during Colonel Hannay's holding that farm ?

I did.

To what amount ?

I cannot exactly say—but I have heard that he obtained, at different periods, very considerable deductions.

And then the witness was directed to withdraw.

And being again called in ;

The answer to the last question was read to the witness ; to which he added ;

That it was a generally received opinion of every one on the spot.

Are you well acquainted with the person of the Nabob of Oude, his brothers, uncles, and nearest relations ?

I have been acquainted with them from very early in the year 1770, to the time I left the country in the year 1782.

Whether the opulence and splendor of the Nabob's Court has increased or declined during that period ?

It is very well known that it is declined to a mere shadow—nothing at all.

Whether it was a splendid and opulent Court in the time of the late Sujah Dowlah ?

It certainly was—his wives and children were maintained in great affluence and splendour ; and he supported, exclusive of his civil establishment, the expence of which has been estimated at about £.400,000 per annum, a very numerous standing army of upwards of 20,000 horse, twenty battalions of regular infantry, armed, cloathed, and disciplined after the European manner, together with about 20,000 irregular, or matchlock men, called Nejibs and Sabutcaunies (so called from Sabut Cawn, the first founder of that establishment) to which I must add, the expence of a considerable train of artillery ; and all this he did previous to the accession of territory which he acquired in Rohilcund and the Duabe, and which his son the present Vizier now possesses.

In

In what condition are the Nabob's brothers, who are out of the Zenana, maintained ?

All the Nabob's brother and sisters are by other wives of the late Sujah Dowlah—the eldest, Sâdut Ali, usually resides at Benares, under the protection of the English, with a revenue of £.30,000 per annum, or thereabouts, which he receives from the Vizier his brother : The next son of Sujah Dowlah, Meer Mirza Jungly, not being able to live upon the small stipend his brother the Vizier allowed him, privately left his court, and threw himself upon the generosity of Nudjiff Cawn at Delhi—there I saw him about the middle of the year 1780 : Nabob Behadre, another son of Sujah Dowlah, I left at Lucknow in very great Indigence. In short, the children of Sujah Dowlah, brought up within the walls of his Seraglio, as soon as ever they arrived at the age of thinking for themselves, have all endeavoured to make their escape, and to seek for that support from other Princes, which the present resources of their Brother would not admit of his given them.—In regard to the other relations, his Uncles Mirza Ally Cawn and Nabob Salar Jung, they derived grants of Jaghires from the late Sujah Dowlah, to whom their sister was married, and who goes by the name of the Bow Begum.—Mirza Ally Cawn died before the Jaghires were taken from them; but his children, as well as the other brother, Nabob Salar Jung, are much reduced in their circumstances, and were loud in their complaints against the Minister Hyder Beg Cawn, whose connections with the English government at the court of Oude had brought the Nabob's finances into such a situation as to render him unable to satisfy the demands of the English by any other means than that of seizing on their estate and property. The Begums, that is to say, the mother and wife of the late Sujah Dowlah, originally derived their Grants of Jaghires by way of Settlement; as it is usual in the Princes of the East to make such provisions for the expences of the household and Retinue of their wives, independant of their own household establishment, and which it is deemed highly disho-

dishonourable on any occasion afterwards to interfere in: such grants are always held sacred by them.---As it is not in the power of women to manage those estates, they usually employ eunuchs for that purpose, which eunuchs generally attaching themselves from their infancy to the fortunes of their mistresses, they are on all occasions entrusted with their confidence.—Such was the situation of the two eunuchs, Jewar and Behar Ali Cawn.

Whether the Jaghires, or landed estates, of several other persons, were not seized upon at the same time?

On or about the same time.

Were there a great number of them, or only a few?

There were a great many civil and military officers.

Were they persons mostly of considerable rank and consequence?

No; they were not of that considerable rank and consequence that I have mentioned.—There were some that were distantly related to the Nabob's father and mother; but the far greater number were people who originated from very low characters.

Were they not persons who in that way had made their fortunes, and who were rewarded by the Nabob for their real or supposed services?

I cannot say what their merits might be—I believe many of them had never done the Nabob any service whatever.

In what situation were they left, upon the result of taking away their estates?

It created, very naturally, much disgust among them—they complained they were much distressed by it.

What was the condition of the Begums upon the resumption of their Jaghires?

They were so much reduced by the loss of their Jaghires, as to be under the necessity of disbanding their guards and servants, and of disposing of their valuable jewels, cloath, &c.

Do

Do you know any thing of the seizure of their treasures ?

I know no farther than that the eunuchs before mentioned were put into confinement, and that guards were placed over their palaces.

Was you at Fyzabad, or at Lucknow, at that time ?

At Lucknow.

Was you there when the eunuchs were brought prisoners to Lucknow ?

I was.

What treatment did they suffer at Lucknow ?

Every indignity possible, to make them betray the confidence which was the natural result of their situation.

Did they, or did they not, receive any corporal punishment ?

They did not, to my knowledge.

How was the treatment of the eunuchs received by the public in that city and country ?

It made a very bad impression upon people in general.

Were those eunuchs turbulent men, who were suspected of attempting a revolution in the state ?

I never understood they positively were ; but it was very natural for them to become disaffected to the Administration at the Nabob's Court, when they found the country of their late Master so much declining under its influence.

Did you hear that they actually enlisted and recruited men for the purpose of subverting the British power in India, and for extirpating the English nation ?

I never did ; nor was it in their power to recruit men to effectuate such a purpose. I believe they, as well as all men under their circumstances and situation, who possessed the spirit and feelings of men, would have extirpated us, if in their power.

Was it their particular disposition, or was it general throughout the country ?

I believe that the disposition of the natives collectively, for some years back, but more especially those in the provinces in the districts of Baraich and Boorapoor, where the rebellion prevailed, owing to the oppression they had recently experienced, were disaffected to our Government; and for this reason—they had been almost ruined by the rapacity and conduct of an English Collector in that country, the effects of whose measures presented themselves, from one end to the other of it, in deserted villages and uncultivated tracts of land, which had been a garden but a very short time before; and it was the public talk, and had been well known to every gentleman in that country, that a battalion of Sepoys, under the command of Captain Naylor, was sent to quell the sedition in the country; and with that small force he did settle the country; and with the officers of his detachment did report that the disaffection and assembly of troops for the purpose of driving Colonel Hannay out of the country, was owing to unheard-of oppressions on his part.

In what year did the rebellion happen?

They took the advantage of the troubles at Benares to shew their resentment, in 1781.

At what time was that insurrection got under?

In a very short time after—In the course of two or three months.

Was there any reason to believe that the Begums had formed a regular plan, in conjunction with other powers, for the extirpation of the English?

A plan of that nature was too absurd to be believed by a gentleman who knows the position of affairs in that country at that time.

What was the condition of the Zemindars in that country, when you knew it first, and when you last knew it—meaning the old Hindoo Landholders of all kinds?

The old Rajahs of Zeminders of the country had, previous to the death of the late Vizier Sujah Dowlah, been in a very declining way. It was not an uncommon practice of his to appoint an Aumil over

a considerable district of those ancient Rajahs and Zemindars, whom he always wished to keep as dependant upon the Court as possible. The Hindoo cultivators of the lands are very much attached to their princes, these Rajahs, and frequently, at their instigation, took up arms to oppose the Aumil in his collections, which gave him an opportunity, upon getting the better, to plunder them; and which the Vizier their Master encouraged, in order to become second plunderer over the Aumil.

Has that condition been mended in the present reign?

It has not.—There is scarcely a Rajah or Zemindar of any consequence now in the whole Subadarry. All contracts for the farming of the different districts are made with the Minister, at Lucknow; who, upon settling with the Aumil what he is to pay, takes him to the Vizier his Master, where he receives an honorary dress, and is dismissed to make the best of his government, which in general he holds only for one year. He therefore goes, without consulting the princes of the country, and makes his own terms and settlements with the tenants.

Whether most of these countries have not been given over in assignments to the English Resident?

They have, for public service and arrears of demand.

Have you ever heard that the English Resident has interfered to protect the ancient Rajahs and Zemindars from the ill treatment of the farmers of the revenue?

I do not doubt but they have, on many occasions.

With what success?

I cannot positively say.—The system of finance adopted by the Minister was probably of such a nature as to put it, in a great measure, if not wholly, out of their power to rectify any abuse committed by the Aumils. The different Residents at Lucknow, since the accession of the present Nabob, I believe to be men of the greatest integrity and honour, and that they

they would, had it been in their power, have remedied many of the evils committed there.

Whether you know of any instances of their interference for that purpose?

I cannot say I do.—It would probably have been incompatible with their endeavours to realize their assignments.

Was you at Lucknow when Sir Elijah Impey arrived there?

I was.

What was the opinion of his errand thither?

I really cannot presume to say.

How long did Sir Elijah Impey stay there?

To the best of my memory, about a month; but I do not at all recollect.

In what manner was he employed while he was there?

I am a stranger to it.

Did you hear that he took any affidavits while there?

And the question being objected to;

The witness was directed to withdraw.

And being again called in;

The question was repeated.

I have heard so; but do not know what he did.

Do you know the state of the Duabe?

It is a very considerable tract of country.

The question means, that part that is under the Vizier's government.

I do.

How long have you known it? and what is the comparative state of it, between the time when you first knew it and the present time?

I have known it ever since the year 1776? and it is a country liable and open to the invasions of the Mahrattas, from which it has suffered very considerably, previous to the Vizier's making an acquisition of it. Since that period, the mode of finance adopted by Hyder Beg Cawn has doubtless been the means of reducing the country.

How long is it since the last invasion of the Mahra-tas ?

To the best of my remembrance, between nine and ten years.

Might it have improved since, under a good government ?

There is great room for improvement all over the possessions of the Vizier.

Do you know the Zemindary of Benares ?

I do—having surveyed all through it.

What was the state of it when you first knew it ?

I first knew it in 1769, when it was an appendage to the Subadarry of Oude, and governed by Bulwant Sing, the father of the late Rajah Cheyt Sing : It was at that period, and indeed until the expulsion of the late Rajah, in a very flourishing state.—The Police of Benares and Jehanpoor was under the management of a Cutwal or civil Magistrate, put in by the Subah of Oude, and was very defective. These two principal cities were much infested by gangs of banditti and robbers, and frequent murders were the consequence of these depredations ; and until the appointment of Mr. Thomas Graham, whose exertions to establish a good police, and to put an end to these enormities, deserve the greatest commendation ; for by his unremitting care and attention, he put almost a total stop to it.

What was the state of the cultivation of the province of Benares in general ?

The province of Benares was exceedingly populous and well cultivated, and the manufactures flourished.

Did this continue until Cheyt Sing was deposed ?

It did—But he was not equal to his father in the government of that country.—And here I think it but justice to Mr. Hastings to observe, that the title we derive, in consequence of the transfer made to the English by the Vizier of the Zemindary, and from the nature of the Rajah's situation and dependance on his former and present Masters, that Mr Hastings was justified in calling upon him to supply the sum of

£. 50,000

£. 50,000 annually, when the pressing exigencies of the ruling state demanded such aid.

Did you observe any thing, when you was in the country, of a design in Cheyt Sing to shake off his dependence on the English government ?

I did not.

In what year was you last there ?

In October 1782.

Did you observe any difference in the country, from the time that Cheyt Sing was deposed to that period ?

I did ; I believed it to be declining very much.

Were the people as well satisfied with the new government as the old ?

Doubtless they were not.

To what do you attribute the difference ?

To the uncertainty they at present labour under who are to be the Governors, as the present system is liable every day to change.

Then the witness was directed to withdraw.

And being called in again, he was asked ;

When was you last in the Boorapoor and the Baraich districts ?

In 1776.

Do you know when Colonel Hannay was appointed to the command in the districts ?

I cannot precisely say, but it was in 1778 or 1779.

Have you ever been in these districts since 1776 ?

I have never been in the districts since, but I have been bordering on them.

Can you state to the Committee, what the annual amount of the revenues of those districts were, for any length of time, paid into the Nabob's Treasury, previous to Colonel Hannay's appointment ?

I cannot.

Can you state to the Committee, what the annual amount of the revenues was during the time Colonel Hannay had the command there ?

I cannot tax my memory with it, nor do I know what they were.

Have

Have you ever heard or understood any thing of the amount of those revenues, during the time before-mentioned ?

I do not remember I have.

Can you state to the Committee, what those revenues have produced annually since Colonel Hannay's last removal ?

I cannot ; for soon after he left the country, I left it myself.

Was you personally acquainted with the late Colonel Hannay ?

I was acquainted with him for many years.

What was the late Colonel Hannay's general character in the service ?

I never heard any thing against his character. Previous to his appointment to the command in that country, he bore the character of a gentleman, and a deserving officer.

Had the late Colonel Hannay the reputation of being avaricious, cruel, or rapacious ?

I never heard one dissenting opinion of his being so, after his administration in that country. It was the public talk at Lucknow, on the spot, and in short all over the province of Bengal.

At what time did you return from India to this country ?

About the middle of the year 1783.

After your arrival in this country, was you called upon to give evidence before the Select Committee of the House of Commons, sitting at that time on India affairs ?

I was not.

Had you any communication, directly or indirectly, with any of the Members of that Committee, about that time ?

I cannot say, for I do not know who the Members of the Committee were.

Did you ever hear, or understand, that the late Colonel Hannay was at any time, and at what time in particular, accused of the grossest peculation in India ?

I can-

(15)

I cannot exactly say.

And the question being repeated ;

The witness said ;

I have heard that he was guilty of abuses in the country ; but I never heard of a formal accusation against him.

Do you mean then to say, that the late Colonel Hannay was never publicly accused ?

I cannot mean to say any such thing.

By whom, and before whom was Colonel Hannay ever accused ?

I have before observed, that it has been the public topic of conversation on the spot, and at other places ; but I never knew of any formal or official accusation against him.

Did you ever hear of any public accusation against him, which warranted the charge of his being a gross speculator ?

I have heard many of the natives on the spot speak of the oppressions those districts laboured under, and that the country was, from his misconduct, rendered quite a desert.

Then the question, first entered on these Minutes in this day's examination, was again put to the witness.

To which he said,

I must beg leave, if it is not improper, as to any thing regarding this private claim, not to answer any further questions concerning it.

Then the witness was directed to withdraw.

Motion made, and question proposed, That the witness be again called in ; and that the Chairman do acquaint him that the committee expect that he should give an answer to that question.

And the question being, with leave of the committee withdrawn ;

The witness was again called in, and was asked ;

What officer commanded in Rohilcund when you was there in 1780 ?

Major Belfour.

Was

Was you in Rohilcund in any other year besides the year 1780?

I was not.

What time was you there in 1780?

Between two and three months.

Did you ever see a Church in Rohilcund?

Great numbers—places of worship, called Meschids.

Were the ruins you saw in Rohilcund to all appearance old ruins?

They were not.

When you speak of colleges, churches, baths, palaces, and other buildings, do you conceive they were destroyed between October 1774 and 1780, when you was there?

The major part of them I believe to be gone to decay since 1774.

Had you the permission of the Governor General and Council to go to Delhi in 1780?

I had not. I had resigned the service, and looked on my self to be my own master.

When you resigned the service, in January 1779, had you permission to remain in Oude for an indefinite time, or to go to any part of the country you pleased?

I resigned the service upon express condition, that the Governor General and Council should permit me to remain at the Court of the Vizier, until the whole of my demand upon him should be liquidated; and, contrary to all former precedents, which compelled any officer who proposed to resign the service to go down to the presidency for that purpose, I was suffered to resign my commission at the Court of the Vizier.

The Permission which you had being to continue at Oude, had you any Permission to go to the court of Delhi?

I did not apprehend I required any; for when I found that I was not likely to receive my Dues from the Vizier, I took the opportunity of visiting a part of the country I was before unacquainted with.

Do you know what number of elephants the Nabob Vizier has, or whether he is not generally accompany-

ed in his hunting parties with a numerous and splendid court ?

I do not exactly know ; but he has not of late years been accompanied with such large retinues as formerly attended him.

Is not the term, Burra Saheb, applied to the Resident of Oude ; and was it not applied to Sir Eyre Coote when he was at Oude ?

It is usually applied to the chief or head of any particular department.

Do you know whether the Bow Begum, in 1776, when she paid 30 lacks to the Nabob, did not dispose of several of her jewels and cloaths ?

I do not.

Was it not generally supposed, at the time, that she had a large sum of money in her possession ?

I have heard she had.

Have you ever heard it estimated, by Mr. Bristow, or any other person, who might be supposed to have information on the subject, at 170 lacks, or thereabouts ?

I do not recollect that I have.

When you commanded the regiment in the Vizier's service, have you never heard complaints of Jewar and Behar Ali Cawn, the two eunuchs of the Begums, from Mr. Bristow or others ?

I do not remember that I ever did.

Is it not customary in Indostan for Eunuchs to hold offices of importance and trust in the state ?

It is.

Do you remember one of Sujah Dowlah's General officers, Cojah Bussan, a eunuch ?

I do.

Did he not put to death the present Vizier's Minister, Mirtooza Cawn ; and was he not afterwards killed in attempting to assassinate the Vizier ?

It happened at Etoiah, when I was there : he was supposed to have assassinated the Minister, but I do not believe he had ever any intention to assassinate his master the Vizier.

Were not the Cutwalls, or magistrates, of Jehanpour and Benares, Mahomedans ?

They were.

In what years was you in Benares ?

At different periods, from 1769 to the end of 1782.

Have you never heard Mr. Graham or Mr. Fowlke mention the disaffected condition of Cheyt Sing ?

I have not.

Were the Jaghires granted to the Bow Begums by Sujah Dowlah, or the present Vizier ?

The Bow Begums had an addition, and a considerable one, by the present Vizier.---I beg to add my last answer---but, if I remember right, I have heard Mr. Graham say, that he found difficulties thrown in his way by the Rajah in settling the police of Benares ; and I have understood he was refractory in regard to the demand that was made on him for the payment of the three battalions.

Is the present Vizier a man of abilities, and capable of managing well his country ?

He by no means wants understanding ; but his abilities having never been put to the test, I cannot speak to them.

Was his present Minister, Hyder Beg Cawn, the Vizier's own choice, or was he forced on him by Mr. Hastings ?

I cannot say he was forced upon him by Mr. Hastings, nor do I believe he was ; but I believe the Vizier was frequently inclined to have taken his head off, if it had been in his power, on account of his misconduct.

You have spoken of the oppression of the Aumils on the Zemindars---do you mean to say, that those oppressions have ever been countenanced by Mr. Hastings ?

I do not mean to say any such thing, for I do not know that they have.

Was the measure of appointing English officers to command the Vizier's troops carried into execution when Mr. Hastings had a majority in the Supreme Council ; or before the death of Colonel Monson,

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when General Clavering, Colonel Monson, and Mr. Francis had the majority?

I believe it to be in agitation previous to the death of the late Vizier; or rather, it had been in contemplation to have lent officers to the late Vizier before his death; and some did arrive at the Court of Fyzabad with expectation of being engaged in his service; but no regular establishment did take place till General Clavering had the majority.

Were they not all supposed to have been at General Clavering's appointment?

I cannot say; for my own part, I stand indebted to the General for that which I received.

And then the witness was directed to withdraw.

To report a progress, &c.



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M I N U T E S

O F T H E

E V I D E N C E

T A K E N B E F O R E A

Committee of the House of Commons,

B E I N G

A COMMITTEE OF THE WHOLE HOUSE,

Appointed to consider of the several Articles of Charge of High Crimes and Misdemeanors, presented to the House against Warren Hastings, Esquire, late Governor General of Bengal.

P A R T I I I.

L O N D O N:

Printed for JOHN STOCKDALE, opposite BURLINGTON-HOUSE,
PICCADILLY, M. DCC. LXXXVI.

MINUTES

AND

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

COMMISSIONERS

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71

MINUTES, &c.

Jovis, 11^o die Maij 1786.

COMMITTEE of the whole House on the Articles of Charge of High Crimes and Misdemeanors, presented to the House against Warren Hastings, Esquire, late Governor General of Bengal.

To authenticate certain Letters stated in the Charges, relative to the Princesses of Oude, their Ministers, and Women.

CAPTAIN LEONARD JAQUES called in, and examined.

A Member present produced several papers, purporting to be copies of letters, or of extracts of letters, which he desired might be severally shewn to the witness; and that the witness might be asked, whether he wrote or received the letters, of which the papers now to be shewn to him purported to be copies, or from which such extracts were made.

Then the witness was directed to withdraw.
And being again called in;

(4)

One of the said papers was shewn to him ; and the witness desiring that it might be read to him ;

The same was read ; and is as follows ; viz.

‘ To Richard Johnson, Esquire, Resident at
‘ the Vizier’s Court.

‘ Sir,

‘ The two prisoners under my charge, Bar Ally Cawn, and Jewer Ally Cawn, have repeatedly represented to me the hardships they suffer by their long confinement.

‘ They have this day informed me, of their being advised, in your letter, of a deficiency in the sale of the articles sent to Lucknow, as part of the stipulated sum to be sent by them.

‘ As the sum deficient has not been pointed out to them, they have requested I would write you, for that purpose.

‘ Anxious to obtain their enlargement, they have, likewise desired me to inform you, they will immediately, with the assistance of their friends, make up any deficiency that may have arisen.

‘ I have the honour to be,

‘ Sir,

‘ Your most obed^t humble Servant,

(Signed)

LEO^d JAKUES, Captⁿ

‘ Palace, Fyzabad, 2nd Battⁿ 20th Reg^t of Sepoys.’

‘ Feb^y 23d 1782.

And then the witness was asked ;

Did you write that letter ?

To the best of my recollection, I wrote such a letter.—It is at such a distance, I cannot recollect every word ; but I wrote a letter to that intent and meaning.

[Then another of the said papers was read to the witness, as follows ; viz.]

‘ Captain

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Captain Jaques, commanding at Fyzabad.

‘ Sir,

‘ I have been honoured with your letter of the
‘ 23d instant ; and enclose an answer to a letter from
‘ your prisoners.

‘ I also send you an account of the money hitherto
‘ brought to their credit, which be so good as to ex-
‘ plain to them : That by this statement, 12 lacks are
‘ yet due upon the 55 stipulated, against which the
‘ jewels and remaining bullion are yet to be set off,
‘ only estimated by themselves at 7 ; but as the sale of
‘ these will in all appearance far exceed the term of
‘ their agreement, it would be better that they should
‘ send money instead of them ; in the mean time, you
‘ may assure them, that on the day their agreement
‘ expires, I shall be indispensably obliged to recom-
‘ mence severities upon them, until the last farthing
‘ is fully paid of the agreement they have entered in-
‘ to. You may also mention to them, that I have
‘ reason to suspect that the commotions raised by Bul-
‘ budder has not been without their suggestions and
‘ abetment ; which if proved upon them, in addition
‘ to the probable breach of their agreement, will
‘ make their situation very desperate.

‘ This ignorance they have pleaded to you of the
‘ deficiencies in produce of the payments, is a vain
‘ pretext, as not one sicca weight has been disbursed
‘ without the previous knowledge of their agents
‘ here.

(Signed) RICHARD JOHNSON.’

‘ Lucknow,
‘ 27th Feb’ 1782.

[Then another of the said papers was read to the
witness as follows, viz.]

‘ Extract of a letter from Captain Jaques to Mr.

‘ Johnson, dated the 2d of March 1782.

‘ I have, agreeable to your desire, explained the
‘ contents of your letter to the prisoners Bar Ally
‘ Cawn and Jewar Ally Cawn, as likewise the account ;
‘ in answer to which they have requested me to in-
‘ form

‘ form you, that it will be entirely out of their power to transmit cash in the room of the jewels already sent, but that, when the jewels may be sold, and a balance struck of any deficiency arising from the sale, they will, in the course of a few days, if permitted to go about among their friends, make up this deficiency.

‘ They positively deny having any hand in the commotions raised by Bulbudder, or that they carry on any kind of correspondence, or have any intercourse with him or his adherents; so far from it, they have desired me to acquaint you, it is their sincere wish he was either taken or destroyed.’

Then the witness was directed to withdraw.

And being called in again;

He was asked;

Did you write the letter of which that is an extract?

I did.

[Then another of the said papers was read to the witness, as follows, viz.]

‘ Richard Johnson, Esquire, Resident at the Vizier’s Court.

‘ Sir,

‘ The women belonging to the Khouard Mhal, complain of their being in want of every necessary of life, and are at last drove to that desperation, that they at night get on the top of the Zenanah, make a great disturbance, and last night not only abused the centinels posted in the gardens, but threw dirt at them; they threaten to throw themselves from the wall of the Zenanah, and also to break out of it.

‘ Humanity obliges me to acquaint you of this matter, and to request to know, if you have any direction to give me concerning it.

‘ I also beg leave to acquaint you, I sent for Lettafit Ally Cawn, the Cojah, who has the charge of them; who informs me their complaint is well ground-

‘ grounded. That they have sold every thing they
 ‘ had, even to the cloaths from their backs, and now
 ‘ have no means of existing.

‘ Enclosed I transmit you a letter from Monatoll
 ‘ on the subject.

‘ I have the honour to be,

‘ Sir,

‘ Your most obed. hble Serv^t,

‘ (Signed) LEOP^d JAQUES, Capt.

‘ Palace, Fyzabad, 2^d Battⁿ 20 Reg^s of Sepoys.

‘ March 6th, 1782.

Did you write that letter?

I did.

[Then another of the said papers was read to the
 witness, as follows, viz.]

‘ Richard Johnson, Esquire, Resident at the Vizier’s
 ‘ Court.

‘ Sir,

‘ I beg leave to address you again, concerning
 ‘ the women in the Khouird Mhal; their behaviour
 ‘ last night was so furious, that there seemed the
 ‘ greatest probability of their proceeding to the ut-
 ‘ most extremities, and that they would either
 ‘ thrown themselves from the walls or force the
 ‘ doors of the Zenanah.—I have made every enquiry
 ‘ concerning the cause of their complaints, and find
 ‘ from Letaffit Ally Cawn, that they are in a star-
 ‘ ving condition, having sold all their cloths and
 ‘ necessaries, and now have not wherewithal to sup-
 ‘ port nature; and, as my instructions are quite si-
 ‘ lent on this head, should be glad to know how to
 ‘ proceed in case they were to force the doors of the
 ‘ Zenanah, as I suspect it will happen, should no
 ‘ subsistence be very quickly sent to them.

‘ I have the honour to be

‘ Palace, Fyzabad, ‘ Sir,

‘ March 7th, 1782. ‘ Your most obed^t

‘ humble Servant,

(Signed) ‘ LEOP^d JAQUES, Captain.

‘ 2^d Battⁿ 20th Reg^t of Sepoys.’

Did

Did you write that letter ?

I did.

[Then another of the said papers was read to the witness as follows; viz.]

‘ To Captain Leonard Jaques, commanding at Fyzabad.

‘ Sir,

‘ I have been honoured with your letters of the 6th and 7th instant, and have written to Meer Saed ul Dien, to urge the payment of the Tuncan of the Khoord Mehal; I have also requested the Nabob to send orders to this effect to that Aumil, and, as they are to be accompanied by a Sezawal, have no doubt of their immediate effect.

‘ As to the women of the Khoord Mehal going out, it cannot be a matter in which the English can interfere one way or the other.

‘ You will in future be pleased to correspond with Mr. Middleton, who returned this day to his station.

‘ Lucknow, (Signed) R. JOHNSON.
‘ 9 March, 1782.’

Did you receive that letter ?

I did—but the names in this are differently spelt.

[Then another of the said papers was read to the witness, as follows; viz.]

‘ Nathaniel Middleton, Esquire, Resident at the Vazier’s Court.

‘ Sir,

‘ I am desired by the two prisoners, Bar Ally Cawn and Jewar Aliy Cawn, to inform you they have this day received a statement of accounts from Mr. Johnson, in which they say, that, exclusive of the jewels sent as part of payment of the stipulated sum of fifty-five lacks of rupees, they are credited for the sum of forty-five ~~lacks~~ forty-five thousand six hundred and one rupees.

‘ They

‘ They earnestly request that the jewels may be
 ‘ valued by four or five eminent merchants, Mus-
 ‘ fulmen and Hindoos upon oath; and that after
 ‘ this may be done, whatever balance may appear
 ‘ against them, they will immediately get their
 ‘ friends to advance for them.

‘ They have likewise requested me to represent
 ‘ to you their distressed situation, in being so long
 ‘ and close confined, with the hopes of your tak-
 ‘ ing their case into consideration, expediting the
 ‘ matter as much as in your power. They also re-
 ‘ quest me to inform you, the suspicions Mr. John-
 ‘ son seems to entertain of them respecting Bul-
 ‘ budder, is without foundation; that they have
 ‘ no kind of intercourse, either directly or indirect-
 ‘ ly, with him; and that they stake their lives up-
 ‘ on the most distant proof of it being brought;
 ‘ also, that it would give them great satisfaction to
 ‘ find he was either taken or destroyed.

‘ I have the honour to be,
 ‘ Palace, Fyzabad, Sir,
 ‘ March 13, 1782. Your most obedient
 ‘ humble servant,
 (Signed) LEOP^D JAUQUES, Captain
 2d Batⁿ 20 Reg^t of Sepoys.

Did you write a letter to that purport?
 Yes.

[Then another of the said papers was read to the
 witness, as follows; viz.]

‘ Captain Leonard Jaques, commanding at Fyzabad.
 ‘ Sir,

‘ I have received your letter of the 13th instant.
 ‘ The two prisoners, Behar and Jewar Ally Cawn,
 ‘ having violated their written solemn engagement
 ‘ with me, for the payment of the balance due to
 ‘ the Honourable Company, on the Nabob’s af-
 ‘ firmments accepted by them; and declining giv-
 ‘ ing me any satisfactory assurances on that head;

B

‘ I am

(10)

‘ I am under the disagreeable necessity of recurring
 ‘ to severities to enforce the said payment. This
 ‘ is therefore to desire, that you immediately cause
 ‘ them to be put in irons, and keep so until I shall
 ‘ arrive at Fyzabad, to take further measures as
 ‘ may be necessary.

(Signed) NATH^L MIDDLETON.

‘ Lucknow, 18th March 1782.

Did you receive a letter to that purport?
 I did.

[Then another of the said papers was read to the
 witness, as follows, viz.)

‘ Nath^L Middleton, Esquire, Resident at
 ‘ the Vizier’s Court.

‘ Sir,

‘ I was last night honoured with your letter
 ‘ of the 19th instant; and have, agreeable to
 ‘ your orders, put the prisoners Bahar Ally Cawn
 ‘ and Jewar Ally Cawn in Irons.

‘ I have the honour to be,

‘ Sir,

‘ Your most obed^t humble serv^t,

‘ Palace, (Signed) LEOP^D JAUQUES, Captⁿ

‘ March 21st 1782. ‘ 2^d Battⁿ 20 Reg^t of Sepoys.’

Did you write a letter to that Purport?
 Yes.

[Then another of the said papers was read to the
 witness, as follows; viz.]

‘ Nath^L Middleton, Esquire, Resident at
 ‘ the Vizier’s Court.

‘ Sir,

‘ I am favoured with your’s of the 27th instant;
 ‘ and cannot help informing you, that I thing my-
 ‘ self hardly used, in not being allowed so trifling
 ‘ a contingency as my bill with you is for; how-
 ‘ ever, I am nevertheless obliged to you for letting
 ‘ me know what I have to expect, as I shall of
 ‘ course now discharge all the extraordinary people,
 ‘ which my delicacy and zeal for doing the duty I
 ‘ am

(11)

‘ am upon, to the satisfaction of them who ordered
 ‘ me upon it, induced me to enter into. You will
 ‘ therefore consider, Sir, that I cannot any longer
 ‘ pay women to examine the Doolies from the Rhafs
 ‘ and Khourd Mhals; of course none will be al-
 ‘ lowed to go out till I have your further direc-
 ‘ tions how to proceed. Doolies unexamined will
 ‘ take out valuables, which my orders are positively
 ‘ against. Intelligence I can have none, as no al-
 ‘ lowance will be made me for it; and, should any
 ‘ accident happen, the blame will not be mine, but
 ‘ those who are so sparing of a trifle.

‘ I have been at some other trifling expences,
 ‘ such as a Moonsey to read, write, and explain any
 ‘ letter to and from the prisoners to and from Jer-
 ‘ rour Sing, the Aumil of Nabob Gunge, and the
 ‘ Aumil of Oude, &c.; extra stationary, and not
 ‘ necessary, were I not on a separate command; can-
 ‘ dles, oil, &c. for guards, which should have no oc-
 ‘ casion to supply, were it not for my command.

‘ The practising my people with ball cartridges,
 ‘ I am sure, was absolutely necessary, as fifty of
 ‘ my men were the utmost in number who had
 ‘ ever fired one until I came here: and I had
 ‘ every reason to believe, from the caution used by
 ‘ Major Naylor, when I relieved him, that I should
 ‘ meet with trouble; and, being only half his num-
 ‘ ber, and no guns, it was surely my duty to have
 ‘ my people in the best condition to defend them-
 ‘ selves if occasion required; and I am sure the
 ‘ sum charged by me for this is not half what it
 ‘ would have cost the company to have supplied
 ‘ my battalion from any of the magazines.

‘ You have also ordered me to put the prisoners
 ‘ in irons—that I have done; yet, as I have no
 ‘ business to purchase fetters, or supply them any
 ‘ other way, it is but reasonable that you should
 ‘ order me to be reimbursed. But why should I
 ‘ add any thing more? A late commander at this
 ‘ place, I am told, draws near as many thousands,
 ‘ monthly contingencies, as my trifling bill is for
 ‘ hundreds.

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‘ hundreds. However, if you cannot get my bill
 ‘ paid, be so obliging as return it, and give me
 ‘ an opportunity of declaring to the world, that I
 ‘ believe I am the first officer in the Honourable
 ‘ Company’s service who has suffered in his pro-
 ‘ perty by an independant command.

‘ I have the honour to be,

‘ Sir,

‘ Your most obedient

‘ Palace, Fyzabad,

‘ humble servant,

‘ March 30, 1782. (Signed) ‘LEOP^D JAQUES, Captⁿ

‘ Commanding at Fyzabad.’

Did you write a letter to that purport?

I did.

Did you transmit any letter to Mr. Hastings, or the Governor General and Council, from Jewar and Behar Ally Cawn, or from yourself?

I do not recollect that I ever did, during my command, or on that business.

Under whose direction was you, while you had that command?

I was to receive my orders from the resident at the Vizier’s court. Mr. Middleton had occasion to go away, and Mr. Johnson acted for him.

By what authority did you understand Mr. Middleton and Mr. Johnson to act, in giving you any directions in the course of that command?

And the question being objected to;

The witness was directed to withdraw.

And being again called in;

He was asked,

Why did you obey the orders of Mr. Middleton?

My immediate commanding officer in the regiment ordered me to march with my battalion, which was then lying at Lucknow, and put myself under the command of Major Naylor, who then commanded at Fyzabad—or to relieve him—I forget which; but I did relieve him. On my arrival at Fyzabad, the 8th of February 1782, Major Naylor gave me instructions.

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ons regarding the charge of the palace at Fyzabad, and the charge of the two eunuchs who were prisoners.

Did you receive particular directions to obey the orders of Mr. Middleton, and from whom?

I did.—I cannot be positive, but I believe I had orders from my immediate commanding officer at Lucknow to receive orders from Mr. Middleton; but I am sure, on my arrival at Fyzabad, I had directions from Major Naylor to receive my orders from Mr. Middleton.

Did you conceive Mr. Middleton to be the representative of the Governor General and Council?

I always understood that Mr. Middleton was the English resident at the Vizier's court at Lucknow.

What situation did you hold in the Company's service?

I was a Captain.

When did you cease to hold that rank?

In 1784.

On what occasion did you cease to hold that rank?

I do not see that there is any occasion for me to answer that question.

And then the witness was directed to withdraw.

The Committee was moved that several papers might be read;

And the same were read accordingly. The first as follows; viz.

(†) ' COPY Translation of a Letter from his Highness the Nabob Asuf ul Dowlah, Subadar of Oude, and Vizier of the Empire, to Charles Purling Esquire, Resident at his Court, on the part of the East India Company—an Enclosure in Mr. Purling's Letter to the Council General, dated Lucknow, 19th of November 1779.

' The friendship between the Honourable Com-

(†) Read from No. 7. of the Appendix to the Tenth Report of the Select Committee appointed to take into consideration the state of the administration of justice in the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, &c. which number is intitled, "Proceedings of the Governor General and Council, of the 13th and 15th of December 1779, relative to the Vizier."

' pany,

pany, Mr. Hastings, Governor General, Supreme Council, and myself, has not the least shadow of disunion; dominion, property, and honour, are but one and the same to us.

The situation of my affairs, respecting the present time, I informed Mr. Middleton of, both by writing and conversation, and I now proceed to lay the whole before you.

During these three years past, the expence occasioned by the troops in brigade, and others, commanded by European officers, has much distressed the support of my household, inasmuch that the allowance made to the Seraglio and children of the deceased Nabob has been reduced to one fourth part of what it was, upon which they have subsisted in a very distressed manner for these two years past. The attendants, writers, servants, &c. of my Court, have received no pay for these two years; and there is at present no part of the country that can be allotted to the payment of my father's private creditors, whose applications are daily pressing upon me. All these difficulties I have for these three years past struggled through, and found this consolation therein, that it was complying with the pleasure of the Honourable Company, and in the hope that the Supreme Council would make enquiry from impartial persons into my distressed situation. But I am now forced to a representation. From the great increase of expence, the revenues were necessarily farmed out at a high rate, and deficiencies followed yearly; the country and cultivation is abandoned; and, this year in particular, from the excessive drought of the season, deductions of many lacks have been allowed the farmers, who were still left unsatisfied, and I have received but just sufficient to support my absolute necessities; and for this reason, many of the old chieftains with troops, and useful attendants of the Court, were forced to leave it; and now there is left only a few foot
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‘ and horse, for the collection of the revenues,
 ‘ and, should the Zemindars be refractory, there
 ‘ is not left a sufficient number to reduce them to
 ‘ obedience of my collectors. The late raised bri-
 ‘ gade at Futta Ghur, is not only quite useless to
 ‘ my government, but is moreover the cause of
 ‘ much loss, both in the revenues and customs;
 ‘ the detached bodies of troops under other Euro-
 ‘ pean officers bring nothing but confusion to the
 ‘ affairs of government, and are entirely their own
 ‘ masters.

‘ In this distressed state of my affairs, it is just
 ‘ and requisite that Mr. Hastings, General Sir
 ‘ Eyre Coote, and the Supreme Council, should
 ‘ give me relief. This year I cannot possibly provide
 ‘ for the new brigade at Futta Ghur, the corps of
 ‘ horse, and other detached bodies of troops in
 ‘ my country. I hope you will consider well these
 ‘ representations, and explain them in a manner
 ‘ you may judge proper to the Governor General
 ‘ and Supreme Council.—On my part, country,
 ‘ property, and life, are devoted to the will of the
 ‘ Honourable Company. I hope you will there-
 ‘ fore do justice to these my complaints, and pre-
 ‘ vent my falling into distress by not having where-
 ‘ with to support the necessary expences of my ho-
 ‘ usehold. For the expence of the brigade at Caun-
 ‘ poor, and other disbursements, I have given Tun-
 ‘ caws and orders upon my country; the remain-
 ‘ der of my revenue, on account of the drought,
 ‘ has fallen so short, as not to be sufficient for my
 ‘ necessary expences, being deficient to the amount
 ‘ of fifteen lacks, and the above provision will bring
 ‘ upon me this year very great distress.—What can
 ‘ I say more?’

[Then

[Then an Extract from a Minute of the Governor General, entered in Consultations of 29th September 1783, was read (*); and is as follows, viz.]

‘ It may afford a triumph to Mr. Bristow, to have
 ‘ such a proof of “ the unprincely style of the un-
 ‘ happy Asof ul Dowlah, opposed to the dignified
 ‘ idea of insulted sovereignty.” But if there is a
 ‘ spark of generous virtue in the breasts of any of
 ‘ my countrymen, who shall be the readers of this
 ‘ compilation, this letter shall stand for an instru-
 ‘ ment to awaken it to the call of vengeance against
 ‘ so flagitious an abuse of authority, and reproach
 ‘ of the English name.’

[Then a Minute of the Governor General, and also Draft of a Letter therein mentioned, was read (†); and is as follows, viz.]

‘ Governor General.—I understand the substance
 ‘ of the Vizier’s letter to be a peremptory refusal to
 ‘ grant assignments but for the expence of the regu-
 ‘ lar brigade stationed at Cawnpore; a demand for
 ‘ the recall or reduction of the troops stationed at
 ‘ Rohilcund for his service in that district, and his
 ‘ new-acquired dominions in the Douab, and for the
 ‘ dismissal of the corps established in his own im-
 ‘ mediate service, under the command of British of-
 ‘ ficers (viz. those severally commanded by Major
 ‘ Hannay, Captain Osborne, and the body guard
 ‘ under Captain Mordaunt) for the purpose of sub-
 ‘ stituting additional establishments of horse and
 ‘ foot, under his immediate command, for the ser-
 ‘ vice of the revenues. These demands, the tone in
 ‘ which they are asserted, and the season in which

(*) Read from a paper, intituled, “ Extract from Papers (in
 “ No. 2. Vol III.) presented to the House of Commons, on the
 “ 13th day of March, from the East India Company, and ordered
 “ to be printed on the 16th of March 1786.”

(†) Read from the same Appendix (No. 7.) to the Tenth Re-
 port of the Select Committee, which is intituled, “ Proceedings of
 “ the Governor General and Council, of the 13th and 15th De-
 cember 1779, relative to the Vizier.”

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‘ they are made, are all equally alarming, and appear to me to require an adequate degree of firmness in this Board in opposition to them. Without further comment, I shall proceed to recommend the following draft of a letter to be written to Mr. Purling; which, if agreed to, may serve as the substance of one to be written on the same subject to the Nabob.

‘ Sir,

‘ We have received your letter of the 19th of November, stating the objections of the Nabob to the immediate discharge of the sums due from his government for the expences of the current year. The principle on which these objections are made, appears to us so repugnant to the Nabob’s engagements with the Company, and with the intimate connections of his interests and theirs, that we cannot hesitate a moment to declare them totally inadmissible; and as we have no doubt of the Nabob’s ability to furnish the sums absolutely necessary for the service of the year, we require you to repeat the demand in writing. To give weight and efficacy to your requisition, we have judged it expedient to advise him, formally by letter, of your being authorized to make it; and that we expect his ready and chearful acquiescence in it. In the present circumstances of his government and of ours, to disband any part of the troops that we maintain for his service, is a measure no less improper for him to suggest, than it would be for us to adopt. He stands engaged to our government to maintain the English armies, which, at his own request, have been formed for the protection of his dominions; and it is our part, not his, to judge and to determine in what manner, and at what time, these shall be reduced or withdrawn. But were it otherwise, this is not the time to propose it, when we are threatened with external dangers common to both, which require rather an augmentation than a diminution of the means which we possess for
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‘ repelling them. That this gives us cause for the
 ‘ most alarming suspicions, since he cannot be igno-
 ‘ rant that the Mahrattas, our enemies, and the an-
 ‘ tient enemies of his government and family, are
 ‘ in arms, and a war unavoidable. That at such
 ‘ a juncture, a proposal for disbanding any part of
 ‘ his forces, cannot fail to encourage them to attack
 ‘ his dominions. That the advice of his ministers,
 ‘ who have instigated him to make it, will, we per-
 ‘ suade ourselves, appear to him as insidious as it is
 ‘ dangerous: and that we hope he will dismiss them
 ‘ from his service and confidence, as unworthy of
 ‘ both.

‘ We are, &c.

‘ Fort William,
 ‘ 13th Decr 1779.’

[Then an extract from the 11th report of the said Se-
 lect Committee, pages 10 and 11, was read; and is
 as follows; viz.]

“ When the knife,” says he, “ had penetrated to
 “ the bone, and I was surrounded with such heavy
 “ distresses, that I could no longer live in expecta-
 “ tions, I wrote you an account of my difficulties.
 “ The answer which I have received to it is such,
 “ that it has given me inexpressible grief and afflic-
 “ tion. I never had the least idea or expectation,
 “ from you and the Council, that you would ever
 “ have given your orders in so afflicting a manner,
 “ in which you never before wrote, and which I
 “ could not have imagined. As I am resolved to
 “ obey your orders, and Directions of the Council,
 “ without any delay, as long as I live, I have,
 “ agreeably to those orders, delivered up all my
 “ private papers to him (the Resident) that when he
 “ shall have examined my receipts and expences, he
 “ may take whatever remains. As I know it to be
 “ my duty to satisfy you, the Company and Coun-
 “ cil, I have not failed to obey in any instance; but
 “ requested of him, that it might be done, so as not to
 ‘ distress

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“ distrefs me in my necessary expences, there being
 “ no other funds but those for the expences of my
 “ mutseddies, household expences, and servants, &c.
 “ he demanded these in such a manner, that, being
 “ remediless, I was obliged to comply with what
 “ he required. He has accordingly stopped the
 “ pensions of my old servants for thirty years, whe-
 “ ther Sepoys, Mutseddies, or household servants,
 “ and the expences of my family and kitchen; to-
 “ gether with the jaghires of my grandmother, mo-
 “ ther, and aunts, and of my brothers and depen-
 “ pants, which were for their support. I had raised
 “ 1300 horse, and three battalions of Sepoys to at-
 “ tend upon me; but, as I have no resources to sup-
 “ port them, I have been obliged to remove the
 “ people stationed in the Mahils [districts] and to
 “ send his people [the Resident’s people] into the
 “ Mahils, so that I have not now one single servant
 “ about me. Should I mention to what further dif-
 “ ficulties I have been reduced, it would lay me
 “ open to contempt.”

‘ In other parts of this long remonstrance, as well
 ‘ as in other remonstrances no less serious, he says,
 “ That it is difficult for him to save himself alive :
 “ That in all his affairs, Mr. Hastings had given
 “ full powers to the gentlemen here [meaning the
 “ English Resident and assistants] who have done
 “ whatever they chose, and still continue to do it.
 “ I never expected that you would have brought
 “ me into such apprehension, and into so weak a
 “ state, without writing to me on any one of those
 “ subjects, since I have not the smallest connection
 “ with any body except yourself. I am in such dis-
 “ tress both day and night, that I see not the small-
 “ est prospect of deliverance from it, since you are
 “ so displeased with me as not to honour me with a
 “ single letter.”

‘ In another remonstrance he thus expresses him-
 ‘ self :’

“ The affairs of this world are unstable, and soon
 “ pass away---it would therefore be incumbent on

“ the English gentlemen to shew some friendship fo
 “ me in my necessities. I, who have always exerted
 “ my life in the service of the English, assigned over
 “ to them all the resources left in my country, stop-
 “ ped my very household expences, together with
 “ the jaghires of my servants and dependants, to the
 “ amount of 98,98,375 rupees. Besides this, as to
 “ the jaghires of my grandmother, mother, and un-
 “ cle, which were granted to them for their support,
 “ agreeable to engagements, you are the masters;
 “ if the Council have sent orders for the stopping
 “ their jaghires also, stop them. I have no re-
 “ sources left in my country, and have no friends
 “ by me, being even distressed in my daily subsist-
 “ ence. I have some elephants, horses, and the
 “ houses which I inhabit; if they can be any service
 “ to my friends, they are ready. Whenever you
 “ can discover any resources, seize upon them, I
 “ shall not interfere to prevent you. In my present
 “ distress for my daily expences, I was in hopes that
 “ they would have excused some part of my debt.
 “ Of what use is it for me to relate my situation,
 “ which is known to the whole world? this much
 “ is sufficient.”

[Then the following extracts from the Governor Ge-
 neral's said minute, entered in consultations of
 29th September 1783, was read (*); and is as
 follows, viz.

‘ It made a part of a general injunction, to treat
 ‘ the Nabob with every possible delicacy, concilia-
 ‘ tion, and attention; and was written purely from
 ‘ the apprehension in the deficiency of the public
 ‘ funds not admitting the full payment of the Com-
 ‘ pany's just claim, and the calls of his personal and
 ‘ necessary wants: and, may I add, without the ha-
 ‘ zard of drawing on myself a severe censure from

(*) Read from the Papers before mentioned (in No. 2. Vol.
 III.) presented to the House on the 13th of March 1786, and
 ordered to be printed on the 16th of March 1786.

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' such of my constituents as shall think, that, in the
 ' time of their distresses, my first and exclusive care
 ' should be given to their relief, than that of having
 ' authorized the deprivation of an unhappy prince,
 ' whose alliance has subjected him to a servile depen-
 ' dence on the power of this government, that it was
 ' my intention to preclude the operation of such a
 ' plea, by directing that the Nabob's personal share
 ' of his own finances should be fully allotted to him,
 ' although the Company's debt remained wholly in
 ' balance. Let me be judged with candour. Our
 ' alliance has proved the extinction of his soverei-
 ' gnty, and the impoverishment of his country and re-
 ' venue; and it was but just to allow him the means
 ' of subsistence, if no more remained of the resources
 ' of his inheritance.

' Such is the state to which the Company's influ-
 ' ence has reduced one, and the first of its allies; and
 ' such the example held out to other princes of In-
 ' dia, who may be tempted to ensnare themselves in
 ' the same connection.'

[Then another extract from the same minute was
 read (+); and is as follows; viz.]

' This is not a place, nor have I room in it, to
 ' prove, what I shall here content myself with affirm-
 ' ing, that by a sacred and undeviating observance
 ' of every principle of public faith, the British do-
 ' minion might have by this time acquired the means
 ' of its extention, through a virtual submission to its
 ' authority, to every region of Indostan and Decan.
 ' I am not sure that I should advise such a design,
 ' were it practicable, which at this time it certainly
 ' is not; and I very much fear that the limited for-
 ' mation of such equal alliances as might be useful
 ' to our present condition, and conduce to its im-
 ' provement, is become liable to almost unfurmount-
 ' able difficulties. Every power in India must wish
 ' for the support of ours, but they all dread the
 ' connection.

[(+) Read from the Paper last mentioned.]

' The

‘ The subjection of Bengal, and the deprivation
 ‘ of the family of Jaffier Ally Cawn, though an ef-
 ‘ fect of inevitable necessity, the present usurpations
 ‘ of the rights of the Nabob Waller Jau in the Car-
 ‘ natic, and the licentious violations of the treaty
 ‘ existing between the Company and the Nabob ul
 ‘ Dowla, though checked by the remedial interpo-
 ‘ sition of this government, stand as terrible prece-
 ‘ dents against us. The effects of our connections
 ‘ with the Nabob Asoph ul Dowlah had a rapid ten-
 ‘ dency to the same consequences; and it has been
 ‘ my invariable study to prevent it, by the removal
 ‘ or restriction of every authority or influence, de-
 ‘ rived from our government, which interfered with
 ‘ his, and by the promise of whatever means I might
 ‘ possess for withdrawing that interposition of it, in
 ‘ the internal management of his affairs, which we
 ‘ exercised in the assignments made of portions
 ‘ of his revenue for the payment of the Com-
 ‘ pany’s debts, whenever he should either have
 ‘ discharged them, or could afford a security for
 ‘ their payment. It is not unknown to the Mem-
 ‘ bers of the Board, who composed it in the begin-
 ‘ ning of the year 1781, how much it was my wish,
 ‘ even then, to return on a new commission to the re-
 ‘ sidence of the Nabob of Oude, provided I could be
 ‘ entrusted with power to make such an accommoda-
 ‘ tion, for his finances were daily diminishing. The
 ‘ presence of the representative of our government
 ‘ enfeebled that of the Nabob in its executive acts,
 ‘ and all the provinces of his dominions were gradu-
 ‘ ally sinking into decline, the reproach of which,
 ‘ even from our own countrymen, was cast upon our
 ‘ government as the cause of it.’

[Then

[Then the following extract from Major Scott's evidence, taken before the said Select Committee, respecting the Vizier's conduct to the Begums, and the confederacy of the Indian States, was read (†); and is as follows; viz.]

' Being asked whether it was not generally understood, that the officers in the Vizier's service, and particularly the commanding officer in Oude, and other dependant provinces, enjoyed advantages besides those which arose from their military command? he said, yes; and great interest was made by all officers to get upon the Vizier's establishment, as it was called.—Being asked, In what those advantages consisted? he said, In extra allowances from the Vizier; and, as it has been generally said and believed, but that he could not speak it of his own knowledge, in having a concern in the collection of the revenues; and he thinks the Vizier himself has stated it to be a great grievance, and a reason why he wished to have those officers recalled.'

[Then the following extract from the Governor General's narrative of the transactions at Benares, was read (†); and is as follows; viz.]

' 1st. The introduction of the agreement contains reasons in support of this article which are incontrovertible. The Vizier declares, that he is absolutely unable to defray the expence of these troops. This plea alone, if the fact be admitted, will be allowed to be conclusive. But the Vizier urges our additional claim to this indulgence, and to every other in the power of our Government to shew him, from the fidelity and attachment which he has unvariably manifested to the Company, and which was remarkably exemplified in the late alarming conjuncture, when every art

(†) Read from No. 10. of the Appendix to the tenth Report of the said Select Committee.

(†) Read from No. 1. of the Appendix to the Supplement to the second Report of the said Select Committee.

‘ was employed to shake his constancy, and to engage him in measures which would have been productive of the most fatal consequences.

‘ These arguments, though confined to the rights and interest of the Nabob, will be allowed a complete justification of this engagement; but I have others to offer in support of it, affecting with equal force the interests and security of the Company. To whatever causes it may be attributed, it is certain, that we do not reap those advantages which we promised ourselves, and which we at first derived from the institution of the temporary brigade. The actual disbursements of it have fallen upon our own funds; and we support a body of troops, established for the defence of the Nabob’s possessions, at our own expence. It is true, that we charge the Nabob with this expence; but the large balance already due from him, shews too justly the little prospect there was of disengaging ourselves from a burthen which was daily adding to our distresses, and must soon become insupportable, although it were granted that the Nabob’s debt, thus suffered to accumulate, might, at some future period, be liquidated. Our immediate wants are too pressing, and our means of supplying them too limited, to admit of such a drain from our funds as is caused by the current disbursements of the temporary brigade, and their recall, on that ground alone, would be indispensable. In short, the existence of this corps added considerably to a debt which might never be realized, and intollerably to our current expences. The dissolution of it, in an æconomical light, will advance one great object of my journey, which was to obtain instant relief to our pecuniary distresses; which this measure will substantially effect, as soon as the reduction of the corps withdrawn from the stations of Futtý Gur and Daranaghur takes place.

‘ Should the Nabob find his own strength unequal to the defence of his remote dominions, and again require

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‘ require our aid for that purpose, we shall have a
 ‘ right to prescribe our own terms, and may secure
 ‘ the certain and regular payment of the troops, in-
 ‘ stead of receiving a fallacious credit, and making
 ‘ the actual expenditure our own.

‘ Notwithstanding the great benefit which the
 ‘ Company would have derived from such an aug-
 ‘ mentation to their military force as these troops
 ‘ constituted, ready to act on any emergency, pre-
 ‘ pared and disciplined without any charge on the
 ‘ Company, as the institution professed, until their
 ‘ actual services should be required, I have ob-
 ‘ served some evils growing out of this system,
 ‘ which, in my opinion, more than counterbalanced
 ‘ those advantages, had these been realized in their
 ‘ fullest effect. The remote stations of those troops
 ‘ placing the commanding officers beyond the no-
 ‘ tice and controul of the Board, afforded too much
 ‘ opportunity and temptation for unwarrantable
 ‘ emoluments, and excited the contagion of pecu-
 ‘ lation and rapacity throughout the whole army.
 ‘ A most remarkable and incontrovertible proof of
 ‘ the prevalence of this spirit, has been seen in
 ‘ the court martial upon Captain Erskine; where the
 ‘ Court, composed of officers of rank and respecta-
 ‘ ble characters, unanimously and honourably “ most
 ‘ honourably,” acquitted him, upon an acknow-
 ‘ ledged fact, which in times of stricter discipline,
 ‘ would have been deemed a crime deserving the se-
 ‘ verest punishment.

‘ In a political view, the removal of these stations
 ‘ will be of important advantage, by contracting
 ‘ our frontier, and adding to our interior security
 ‘ and defence.

‘ I request that the Board will take these argu-
 ‘ ments into their serious consideration; and, if
 ‘ they are pleased to allow them that weight which
 ‘ they had in actuating my conduct, that they
 ‘ will consult the commander in chief upon the
 ‘ reduction and distribution to be made of the
 ‘ corps in question, that they may not remain an un-

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‘ necessary

‘ necessary burthen upon our funds; and upon
 ‘ such a disposition of the army in general, as may
 ‘ be suitable to our present and future situation,
 ‘ in every probable variation of it, both foreign
 ‘ and domestic.

‘ With respect to the removal of the Company’s
 ‘ servant’s, civil and military, from the Court and
 ‘ service of the Vizier, I was actuated solely by
 ‘ motives of justice to him, and a regard to the
 ‘ honour of our national character. In removing
 ‘ those gentlemen, I diminish my own influence, as
 ‘ well as that of my colleagues, by narrowing the
 ‘ line of patronage; and I expose myself to oblo-
 ‘ quy and resentment from those who are immedi-
 ‘ ately affected by the arrangement, and the long
 ‘ train of their friends and powerful patrons. But
 ‘ their numbers, their influence, and the enormous
 ‘ amount of their salaries, pensions, and emolu-
 ‘ ments, were an intolerable burthen on the re-
 ‘ venues and authority of the Vizier, and exposed
 ‘ us to the envy and resentment of the whole coun-
 ‘ try, by excluding the native servants and adhe-
 ‘ rents of the Vizier from the rewards of their ser-
 ‘ vices and attachment.’

[Then the following extracts from the Governor
 General’s minute, entered in Bengal Public Con-
 sultations of 22d May 1780, were read (*); and
 are as follows; viz.]

‘ The Nabob Miezusta Jung, of Furruckabad,
 ‘ having preferred frequent complaints to this go-
 ‘ vernment of the hardships and indignities to
 ‘ which he is subject, by the conduct of the Siza-
 ‘ waul stationed in his country for the purpose of
 ‘ receiving the annual tribute, which he is bound
 ‘ by treaty to pay to the Soubah of Oude; I am
 ‘ extremely desirous, as well from motives of com-

(*) Read from the paper, intituled, “ Extracts from Papers
 “ (in No 5) presented to the House of Commons upon the 2d of
 “ March, from the East India Company, and ordered to be print-
 “ ed on the 9th of March 1786.”

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‘ mon justice, as due regard to the rank and situation which that Chief holds among the Princes of Hindostan, that some means may be devised of affording him relief, but without withdrawing that local interference in his affairs which I understand to be indispensably necessary for the realizing the Vizier’s just claims upon him.

‘ That the country of Furruckabad is become almost an intire waste, without cultivation or inhabitants; that the capital, which but a very short time ago was distinguished as one of the most populous and opulent commercial cities in Hindostan at present exhibits nothing but scenes of the most wretched poverty, desolation, and misery; and that the Nabob himself, though in the possession of a tract of country which, with only common care, is notoriously capable of yielding an annual revenue of between thirty and forty lacks, with no military establishment to maintain, scarcely commands the means of a bare subsistence. Should my sentiments and wishes on this subject accord with those of the other members of the Board, I move that one of our civil servants be forthwith appointed Collector of the Vizier’s assignment to the company on the Nabob of Furruckabad, with the same allowances and the same powers as may have been given to the native Siza-wauld; and that he be ordered to proceed with all possible expedition to Lucknow, where he will be invested by the Resident with the charge of that office, and receive from him the necessary instructions for his conduct in the discharge of it.’

[Then the following extracts of a letter from Mr. Willis to the Honourable John Macpherson, Governor General, entered in Bengal Secret Consultations of 28th June 1785, was read (*); and is as follows; viz.]

‘ I will now, Honourable Sir, acquaint you with the state of the districts still dependant on the

D 2.

‘ Nabob

(*) Read from the paper last mentioned.

' Nabob Muzuffer Jung; a knowledge of which
 ' will clearly evince, that without a restoration of
 ' the whole, or a part of the country claimed by the
 ' Nabob, or without there be a Remission of the
 ' tribute to the Vizier, neither cavalry nor infantry
 ' can be maintained. The situation of the Nabob,
 ' and his country is more distressful than when he
 ' addressed himself for relief 1783, and I am sorry to
 ' say that my appointment at Furrackabad has been
 ' of no advantage. In justification of myself, I
 ' think it necessary to acquaint you, that by a let-
 ' ter (N^o 4) from the Governor General, when at
 ' Lucknow, I was prohibited from interfering in
 ' the executive management, and by a subsequent
 ' order I was made liable to dismissal by his
 ' Excellency the Vizier. This at once precluded
 ' the possibility of my appointment being beneficial
 ' to the country.

' By the last treaty, which the Vizier compelled
 ' the Nabob to ratify during his minority, the sum
 ' of four lacks and a half is fixed as tribute or sub-
 ' sidy, and this to be paid from the unsequestered
 ' Purgunnah's. These originally yielded about 12
 ' lacks of revenue, but have since, yearly, been
 ' less and less productive. In the present year it
 ' is not probable there will be above five lacks;
 ' from which is to be deducted the expence of col-
 ' lecting. The tribute therefore cannot be fully
 ' paid, nor will there be any thing for the subsis-
 ' tence of the Nabob and family. Since my resi-
 ' dence at Furruckabad the tribute has been en-
 ' creased to five lacks (though from the calamity
 ' of the famine and other causes, the country was
 ' not equal to the defraying the previously fixed
 ' demands). Almas Ally has taken the Purgun-
 ' nah of Marara at a very inadequate rent, and his
 ' Aumils have seized many adjacent villages. The
 ' Purgunnahs of Cocutmow and Souje are con-
 ' stantly plundered by his people; the collection
 ' of the Gauts near Futti Ghur have been seized
 ' by the Vizier's Cutwal, and the Zemindars in

' four

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' four Purgunnahs are so refractory as to have for-
 ' tified themselves in their Gurries, and to refuse all
 ' payments of revenue. This is the state of the
 ' Purgunnahs; and Furruckabad, which was once
 ' the seat of great opulence and trade, is now daily
 ' deserted by its inhabitants; its walls mouldering
 ' away; without police, without protection, expos-
 ' ed to the depredations of a banditti of 2 or 300
 ' robbers, who, night after night, enter it for plun-
 ' der, murdering all who oppose them. The ruin
 ' that has overtaken this country is not to be won-
 ' dered at, when it be considered that there has
 ' been no state, no stable government for many
 ' years. There has been the Nabob Vizier's autho-
 ' rity, his Minister's, the Resident's at Lucknow,
 ' the Sezawall's, the camp authority, the Nabob
 ' Muzuffer Jung's, and that of 20 Dewans or ad-
 ' visers. No authority sufficiently predominant to
 ' establish any regulations for the benefit of the
 ' country, whilst each authority has been exerted,
 ' as opportunity offered, for temporary purposes.

' Such being the present deplorable state of Fur-
 ' ruckabad and its districts, in the ensuing year it
 ' will be in vain to look for revenue, if some regu-
 ' lations equal to the exigency be not adopted.
 ' The whole country will be divided between the
 ' neighbouring powerful Aumils, the refractory
 ' Zemindars, and banditti of robbers; and the Pa-
 ' tans, who might be made useful subjects, will
 ' fly from the scene of anarchy. The crisis appears
 ' now come, that either some plan of government
 ' should be resolved on, so as to form faithful sub-
 ' jects on the frontier, or the country be given up
 ' to its fate; and if it be abandoned, there can be
 ' little doubt but that the Mahrattas will gladly
 ' seize on a station so favourable to incursions into
 ' the Vizier's dominions, will attach to their inte-
 ' rest the Hindoo Zemindars, and possess them-
 ' selves of forts, which, with little expence, being
 ' made formidable, would give employment per-
 ' haps

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' haps to the whole of our force, should it be ever
' necessary to recover them.'

MAJOR BALFOUR called in and examined.
How long was you in the service of the East India
Company ?

Upwards of twenty years.

Did you serve under Colonel Champion in the Rohilla campaign ?

I did.

Do you conceive that the Rohilla war was carried on with extraordinary circumstances of cruelty ?

I do not, by any means.

Were reports spread in the English camp, that Sujah Dowlah had committed several acts of cruelty during that war ?

There were reports spread ; but I afterwards understood that there were no good foundation for them.—One notorious circumstance was reported, that he had ravished a woman of rank, and that she had stabbed him, and afterwards stabbed herself—that was very generally believed.—I had afterwards an opportunity, by residing a long time in the country, to know that it was an absolute untruth.

Were many towns or villages destroyed during the campaign ?

On the army's first entering the country, there were several villages destroyed ; but after our engagement with the Rohilla army, which happened eight days after our entering the country, I did not know of any villages being destroyed, nor of any towns at all being destroyed.

Were the inhabitants of the country, the husbandmen and mechanics, prevented from following their occupations by the war, or were they disturbed in their possessions ?

On our first entering the country, the inhabitants fled on all sides ; but after the action with the Rohillas, in which Hafiz Rhamet was killed, and the Rohilla army defeated, I understood that the Vizier sent out his

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his own Aumils to protect the inhabitants, and encourage them in their peaceable occupations.

Was you at Lall Dang when the treaty with Fyzoola Cawn was concluded?

I was.

What number of Rohillas, do you think, were ordered to cross the Ganges in consequence of that treaty?

All those who did not accompany Fyzoola Cawn to Rampoor were ordered to cross the Ganges.

What number do you conceive they were who crossed the Ganges?

I imagine, with men, women, and children, upwards of forty thousand.

How many of those were men in arms?

I conceive half of that number were men in arms.—Many of the women and children belonging to those men who had been sent across the Ganges before that time.

Did you march back through the Rohilla country after the treaty of Lall Dang?

I did; I first accompanied Fyzoola Cawn to his capital—I remained with him there for about six weeks, till he was established in his Jaghire.

When you marched back to Oude, at the end of those six weeks, what was the state of the cultivation of Rohilcund at that time?

It was very much the same as at the time we entered it, which was about eight months before—the conquest of the country might occasion a temporary interruption to the cultivation of lands; but the Ryots were returning to the villages, and things were going on as formerly.

Was you in Oude when Sujah Dowlah died?

No—I left it a month before he died.

When did you command in Rohilcund?

I got the command there in March 1778, and commanded there until April 1781.

Was Barelli your head quarters at that time?

It was.

What was the state of Hafiz Rhamet's family when you commanded in Rohilcund?

Such

Such of them as resided there (I cannot be certain how many of them) had houses and gardens allowed them, such as they chose, and they were indulged with renting such lands (small villages) as they wished to have for their own immediate convenience, for supplying their necessaries, at a lower rent than what other lands were usually let for; and it was my particular instructions from the Resident at the Vizier's court, to treat them with every respect and attention, and to see that the same was shewn to them by others.

Were they under confinement during any part of 1780?

Never in confinement during any part of the time that I commanded in Rohilcund.

Are the principal towns in Rohilcund in ruins?

Not the towns—many of the residencies of the Rohilla Chiefs, from being uninhabited (by their expulsion from the country) were going to ruin, but I confine this entirely to their palaces.

Were not several magnificent buildings and mosques destroyed, in several towns in Rohilcund, by the Mahratta invasions?

Many; being of a different religion, they made a point of destroying the mosques and places of Mahomedan worship.—There was one very remarkable mosque at Nudjim-ul-Dowlah, part of which had been inlaid with silver, and otherways richly ornamented, which was stripped of the silver and otherways entirely defaced by the Mahrattas; and several other towns, in that part of the country, were destroyed in the same manner.

Do you recollect to have heard that Lieutenant Colonel Hannay was re-appointed to the command of Goruckpoor by the influence of Mr. Hastings with the Vizier?

I never did. On the contrary, Colonel Hannay told me himself, that he owed his appointment to General Sir Eyre Coote. I recollect he shewed me a copy of a letter he had written to Sir Eyre Coote, complaining of a battalion of Sepoys being withdrawn from the service (which was employed under his command in that countay

country)—urges as a reason for troubling Sir Eyre Coote, that, having obtained the charge of the country through his means, he considered the General's credit concerned in his faithfully executing the engagement he had entered into with the Nabob, and trusted to his support to enable him (Colonel Hannay) to perform them.—That letter was written in September 1780.

Was you in the province of Benares during the insurrection of Cheyt Sing ?

I went with my regiment from the 2d brigade at Cawnpore, and joined Mr. Hastings at Chunar, whilst he was there ; and I was employed, during the rest of the campaign, against Cheyt Sing.

Was you employed by Mr. Hastings to take possession of the city of Benares, after the retreat of Cheyt Sing ?

I was employed to take possession of Ramnagur, Cheyt Sing's palace, opposite to Benares ; and the day after my arrival at Ramnagur, finding that Cheyt Sing's troops had abandoned Benares, I sent over a detachment and took possession of it, of which I immediately advised the Governor General, and he approved of my having done so.

What orders did you receive from Mr. Hastings, relative to your treatment of the inhabitants at Benares ?

I received orders from Mr. Hastings to send people into the city of Benares, to endeavour to relieve their minds from any apprehensions they might be under, telling them, that he was coming there immediately himself, and to assure them of every protection and encouragement he could afford them. I afterwards received Mr. Hastings's thanks for the attention I had paid to his orders, and for the care I had taken for preventing the inhabitants from being plundered or molested.

Do you recollect any order having been issued for the burning of a village in the province of Benares, where some of our wounded Sepoys had been said to have been killed ?

E

I do

I do not recollect any order being issued for it—I believe the village was burnt. The Europeans who were killed belonged to the detachment I came down with from Cawnpore.

Was it a considerable village in point of size and number of inhabitants?

It was a considerable village—I cannot speak to the number of the inhabitants.—When we passed through it, on our march down the country, the inhabitants fled from us; they were all in the interest of Cheyt Sing.—We encamped there.—The inhabitants had left the town, and we placed guards in every part of the village, to prevent any thing being touched. The next morning, when we marched, three or four Europeans were unfortunately left there, and the inhabitants returned and murdered them.

When was you left in the province of Benares?

In February 1782, soon after Cheyt Sing was drove out of the country.

Can you state to the Committee, what time Colonel Hannay was first appointed to the command at Goruckpoor and Baraich?

In January 1778 he was appointed commander of the troops there.

Do you know, or have you heard, what was the state and condition of those districts, previous to Colonel Hannay's appointment?

I have understood (I never was in the country myself) that they were possessed by independant Zemindars, who were always refractory, and never paid any revenues but what they were compelled to pay by military force.

Can you state to the Committee the annual amount of the revenues of the districts, previous to Colonel Hannay's appointment, for any length of time?

I cannot—I never heard.

Do you know what revenue the districts produced, during the time Colonel Hannay commanded there?

I do not.

Can you state what they have produced since Colonel Hannay's removal from the command?

I can-

I cannot state what they have produced, but I have heard they were in great confusion, and produced but little.

Was you personally acquainted with the late Colonel Hannay ?

Intimately so—I became acquainted with him in the beginning of 1767, and the strictest intimacy subsisted between us from that time till the hour of his death.

What was Colonel Hannay's general character in the service ?

He was esteemed a brave active officer; his private character was remarkably amiable, his friendship and acquaintance was courted by the most amiable people in the country, and he was beloved and respected by all who knew him.

Had Colonel Hannay the reputation of being avaricious, cruel, or rapacious ?

Never, to my knowledge—quite the contrary.

Have you ever heard or understood that the late Colonel Hannay was at any time accused of the grossest peculation in India ?

I never heard it.

Do you include the women and children, that went before the main body of the Rohillas, in the number of forty thousand, which you said crossed the Ganges ?

No---there went some over before to Gofs Gunge, the country of Zabita Cawn, another Rohilla Chief, divided from Rohilcund by the Ganges only.

What number do you suppose the women and children, who went before the main body, to have amounted to ?

I cannot exactly say, I should imagine about twenty thousand.

What number of Rohillas appeared in arms before the battle ?

We understood there were above forty thousand men in arms.

How many were supposed to fall in the battle of the Rohillas ?

Between two and three thousand.

Were other Chiefs known to be coming with reinforcements

forcements to Hafiz Rhamet, who did not actually join him?

I heard of none that were coming to join him.

What opinion do the natives of India, among whom you have resided, entertain of Mr. Hastings's humanity, good faith, and tenderness towards the people of Indostan?

A very favourable opinion of him; those that I have conversed with, who had had an opportunity of seeing him, were very much attached to him.

As far as has come to your knowledge, what idea have the Princes and the people of India of Mr. Hastings's government, whether wise, able, and meritorious, or otherwise?

I never had an opportunity of knowing the opinion of the Princes of the country, with respect to Mr. Hastings's government; The Nabob's Ministers, and other people of rank whom I have conversed with, with the Nabob's brother Sâdut Ali, had a great opinion of Mr. Hastings's conduct, and a reliance upon his faith.

Have you ever heard when the Rohillas first became possessed of the country called Rohilcund?

I cannot say exactly as to the year, but it was between 1740 and 1745, I believe.

Were the Rohillas cultivators of the soil or manufacturers, or were they only possessed of the civil and military power?

They were only possessed of the civil and military power; the cultivators of the soil were the original inhabitants of the country—Hindoos.—The Rohillas are Mussulmen.

Was it not generally understood, that the Rohillas, who crossed the Ganges, immediately solicited protection under Zabita Cawn?

It was generally understood they did—I know they did.—Many after that returned to Rohilcund, and lived there unmolested.

Do you believe that any Rohillas were put to death, except those who fell in battle?

I never

I never heard of one—I believe there were none.—When I was formerly asked my opinion, whether there was any cruelty or barbarity in the war that was carrying on?—The prisoners and people, during the time of carrying on the war, undoubtedly suffered great hardships, but not greater than what is usually the case, in wars carried on by the native powers in that country.

Are not the Rohillas a particular clan or tribe, separate from the other Mussulmen in Indostan?

They are a particular clan, and not held in the same estimation that other Mussulmen are.

Were these forty thousand soldiers, before the battle, all Rohillas, or were they in the habit of enlisting any military adventurers who offered themselves?

They were in the habit of enlisting any adventurers that offered, when they made war; but on this occasion, except a few Patans from the district of Furruckabad, I believe they were all Rohillas.

Did you know what proportion of the sixty thousand Rohillas settled with Fyzoola Cawn?

About five thousand of them.

Did you see any signs of military preparations at Benares, or in the neighbourhood, by Cheyt Sing?

The day before the troops reached Chunar, there was a body of between two and 3000 men, horse and foot, encamped on our road to Chunar, I marched to attack them, but they retired before I got to the place. I afterwards saw great preparations at Pateeta, a fort of the Rajah's. At that place they attacked us, and we were obliged to reduce it regularly by carrying battering cannon against it, I afterwards went to Luttespore, where the Rajah had been encamped himself, and where there was an appearance of a very large body of troops having been, but they had fled before I reached it: our troops were afterwards at Bidjeygur, which place stood out a siege of six weeks; and in it we found a great quantity of ammunition of all kinds, and a great quantity of grain, sufficient for the garrison for three or four years.

From

From all appearance, have you reason to believe that Cheyt Sing was meditating insurrections at the time Mr. Hastings visited Benares?

Excepting from the fortrefs of Bidjeygur, I could not judge from any other appearances that he was.

Was it the opinion of the country, that the Begums of Oude afforded assistance to Cheyt Sing after his insurrection?

I cannot speak as to the opinion of the country; it was generally believed by those whom I conversed with.

Was Cheyt Sing considered by the inhabitants of Benares as a great Zemindar dependant on Bengal, or as an independant prince?

By the people of the country, he was considered as a dependant on Bengal—it was perfectly known.—I was in his country a long time.

What was the effect produced upon the people at Benares, by sending people to them for the purpose of quieting their fears, and of informing them that Mr. Hastings himself would soon come among them?

I published it by a public crier, and it seemed to give great satisfaction to the inhabitants, and they remained quiet in their houses.—And the town of Ramnagur, where the Rajah's palace is, is also very large; the inhabitants had fled from it entirely the first day I arrived there, I remained there about six days, and in that time the greatest part of them had returned.

Did Mr. Hastings perform his promise, by going soon to Benares?

He did—he arrived there three days after he wrote me the letter.

How was he received, and what effect had his arrival there?

I was only there two days after his arrival—great numbers of the principal inhabitants came to wait on him immediately; and he treated them with great kindness, and dismissed them with assurances of protection, in my presence. What happened afterwards I cannot say.

Did

Did the people of Benares appear to be satisfied with the assurances given them by Mr. Hastings?

Those that I saw, very much so.

And then the witness was directed to withdraw.

To report a progress, &c.



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M I N U T E S

O F T H E

E V I D E N C E

T A K E N B E F O R E A

Committee of the House of Commons,

B E I N G

A COMMITTEE OF THE WHOLE HOUSE,

Appointed to consider of the several Articles of Charge of High Crimes and Misdemeanors, presented to the House against Warren Hastings, Esquire, late Governor General of Bengal.

P A R T IV.

L O N D O N :

Printed for JOHN STOCKDALE, opposite BURLINGTON-HOUSE,
PICCADILLY, M.DCC.LXXXVI.

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TAKEN BEFORE A

Committee of the House of Commons

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Charge of High Crimes and Misdemeanors, pre-
ferred to the House against William H. Hays,
Esquire, late Governor General of Oregon.



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MINUTES, &c.

Martis, 16^o, die Maij 1786.

COMMITTEE of the whole House on the Articles of Charge of High Crimes and Misdemeanors, presented to the House against Warren Hastings, Esquire, late Governor General of Bengal.

To the State of the Country of Benares, and the Proceedings there.

MAJOR GARDENER called in, and examined.

How long, and in what capacity, have you resided in the East Indies?

Seventeen years, as an officer in the army.

Of what rank?

A Major;—that was my last rank.

In what part of India did you serve for the last years?

At Chunargur.

How far is that from the city of Benares?

About fifteen miles.

Have you had frequent opportunities of being acquainted with the state of the Zemindary of Benares; and for what number of years?

I resided in that country and neighbourhood for about ten years; I went up about 1770, and remained mostly there till the latter end of the year 1783. I had the same opportunities of knowing the state of the country that every resident had.

[4]

In what state was that country, with regard to culture and population, when you first knew it?

It was the highest cultivated country I had ever seen. Did it continue so?

It did, for the greatest part of the time, until the disturbances at Benares; immediately after which time it was not so well cultivated as before.

Did it continue in that flourishing and prosperous state to the month of August 1781?

The disturbances happened in 1781, and until that time it did.

Had you any reason to think that property was well or ill protected in that province?

I had no reason to think but that it was well protected; I know but few instances to the contrary.

Were the people attached to their native government?

It had every appearance that they were so.

Were they rebellious or discontented?

I do not know that they were.

Have you made frequent excursions into that country, and been often at the city of Benares?

I have been often hunting and shooting in that country, and I have been often at the city of Benares.

Have other English officers been often in the same circumstances?

Several.

Have you, or to your knowledge have they, been often insulted, or suffered any violence, in such excursions in that country, or in your or their visits to Benares?

I do not recollect any instance.

Was you personally acquainted with the Rajah Cheyt Sing?

I have often been in his company in his House, and often walked with him in his gardens.

Had you any opportunity of remarking, whether Cheyt Sing was of a violent and enterprizing disposition?

It did not appear to me that he was so.

What was his disposition, as far you knew it?

As

As far as I knew him, he was a gentle and polite man.

Were other English Gentlemen received in his house and gardens as you was?

His garden, I believe, was open to any English Gentleman that came there; his house was only open to a few who had the opportunity of being introduced to him.

Did you remark that the city of Benares was infested by robbers and murderers, in a greater degree than other cities you had seen in India?

Not to my knowledge.

Had you observed, previous to August 1781, any thing in the conduct of the Rajah Cheyt Sing, which indicated a disposition to subvert the authority of the East India Company, and to erect his own independency on their ruin.

It did not come to my knowledge that he had.

Were you informed that he was collecting or preparing every provision for an open revolt?

I was not.

Did any of the other officers of the garrison at Chunargur express any apprehensions of such an intention in the Rajah?

I do not know that they did.

Of what age was the Rajah of Benares of in 1781?

I believe he was about twenty-six or twenty-seven years old.

What was the opinion in Benares of Mr. Hastings's intention in visiting Benares in 1781, before his actual arrival there?

I believe the general opinion there was, that he would make a very short stay at Benares, and pass on to Lucknow.

Was you at Benares when Mr. Hastings arrived there?

I was.

Was there any thing in appearances that indicated a design to attack Mr. Hastings upon his road to that place?

It did not appear to me that there was.

Did

Did you hear any expression, amongst those who attended Mr. Hastings, of any such design being entertained by the Rajah?

I heard of no suspicion whatever.

Was you at Benares the day on which Mr. Hastings ordered Cheyt Sing to be arrested?

I was.

Do you recollect any circumstances relative to that event?

That is so general a question, that I do not know how to reply to it.

Where was the Rajah when he was arrested?

He was at Shewalla Gaut, on the Banks of the Ganges—I understood so, but I do not know for a certainty, for I was not there.

Have you ever seen Shewalla Gaut?

Frequently.

Is it a palace or a house of pleasure?

It is not a palace or a dwelling-house—it is a place he used to rest at when he went over to Benares—it was an open house with a walled court round it.

Where was his palace?

At Ramnagur, on the opposite side of the Ganges.

What effect did the arrest of the Rajah appear to have on the minds of the people?

We were a mile and a half from where he was, and could not tell immediately what the effect was. We heard that the guard who were sent to be placed over him were mostly cut to pieces, and three European Officers who commanded them killed.

Is it your opinion, from the best account you could collect, and the best observations you could make, whether this was the effect of a sudden affray, or a premeditated design to commence hostilities?

In my opinion it was an insurrection of his people, in consequence of his being put under an arrest.

If the Rajah had entertained a premeditated design to cut off Mr. Hastings, and the English with him, would it have been in his power so to do after that event?

Most undoubtedly—we were fully in his power.

Was

Was you with Mr. Hastings at the time?

I was sitting at dinner with Mr. Hastings at the time the news was brought, that the guards and officers were cut off.

Had Mr. Hastings expressed any apprehensions of a design upon him, before that event?

Not that came to my knowledge.

Were any dispositions of the military made to provide against the execution of such a design?

I believe not.

What steps did Mr. Hastings take in consequence of the cutting off the two companies of sepoys?

I understood he dispatched orders to different parts of the country, to collect an armed force to co-operate together against the Rajah.

To what place did Mr. Hastings himself retire?

We remained some days at the city of Benares, and then retreated to Chunargur.

Were you molested or attacked by Cheyt Sing's people while you staid at Benares?

We were not.

Was you employed in the reduction of Cheyt Sing's country, and in what capacity?

I was—as engineer.

Was there any thing in the force which you had to encounter, that indicated a long premeditated design to make war upon the Company?

I do not know that there was:—In the Fort of Bidjeygur there was a large magazine of grain—I know of nothing else.

Of what numbers did the forces consist, that you had at any one time to encounter in that country?

It is impossible for me to judge; I never saw them drawn out into action.

Did you ever attack any of the Rajah's people?

We did at Pateeta, and afterwards at Bidjeygur.

Were there many thousands of them at either of those places?

It was impossible for me to judge of their numbers, as they were mostly under cover.

Was not the fort of Bidjeygur a strong place?

A very

A very strong fortress, upon a very high hill.

What were the circumstances of the garrison of that place, in point of numbers, discipline, military command, and military preparation?

It is impossible for me to give an answer to that question, as I was not in that fort until long after we got possession of it.

Have you heard that the fort was commanded by any regular military governor, or defended by any properly appointed garrison.

I understood the Rajah's mother was the principal person in the fort, who issued orders to her Buxey, or Treasurer.

Did you hear of what numbers the garrison consisted, or of what species of troops—whether there were any engineers or artillery men in it?

I understood there were about 700 men, mostly irregulars:—I believe there were no engineers, but there were some men who worked the guns.

Of what nature and condition were the military stores in that garrison when you saw it?

I did not see it till many months after the reduction of it:—I was taken ill during the siege, and did not see it till many months after.

Did you make any observations upon the cannon and other stores taken in that fort?

When I visited the fort, there were very few stores, and a few old cannon; but it was a long time after we had taken it.

Did you hear that any considerable number of cannon had been removed from the fort?

I did not hear that there were.

Were the cannon you saw in the fort mounted on carriages proper for service?

When I saw them, they were old and unfit for service.

Have you seen the country of Benares after the revolution in 1781?

I resided in that country till the latter end of 1783.

Did the people seem to express the same satisfaction in their new government that they had shewn under their old?

No doubt those who benefited by the revolution shewed a satisfaction, and those who lost by it did not.

The question means, with respect to the generality of the people, as far as you could discover their sentiments?

It is very difficult for me to answer that question.

Did you go as much to Benares after the revolution as before?

I believe I did more.

Whether Cheyt Sing was a Prince esteemed or beloved by his subjects?

I believe he was.

Did the Rajah submit to his arrest quietly, or did he or his people make any immediate resistance?

I believe he submitted very quietly:—Mr. Markham, the resident, returned and said, he submitted very quietly.

Was the province of Benares well cultivated in 1782 and 1783?

In 1782 I do not think it was so well cultivated as before; but in 1783 very little water fell, and the country was not so highly cultivated as formerly.

Was the city of Benares in good order, as to the police being attended to, after the expulsion of Cheyt Sing?

There was every appearance of it, after a settlement took place.

Do you know Ally Ibrahim Cawn, the Chief Magistrate of Benares?

I do.

What is his general character in India?

He bears a character of a clever man, and of an upright, good man.

Whether the Chief Magistrate of Benares was not always a Mahometan?

I believe there has been no instance of the contrary, within my recollection.

Whether the residents Mr. Graham and Mr. Fowke, and the English Gentlemen in general at Chunar, looked upon Cheyt Sing as disaffected to our Government?

B

I never

I never heard Mr. Fowke express any thing of it—
but I have heard Mr. Graham.

Do you recollect what were the sentiments in general
of the officers at Chunar—whether they conceived him
disaffected?

They did not think that the Rajah submitted wil-
lingly to the payment of the additional tribute for
raising three battalions of Sepoys.

Do you recollect complaints having been made, by
Gentlemen passing through Cheyt Sing's country, of
insults offered to them by his people?

I do recollect there was an instance happened; and
a Gentleman got his head hurt by a brick-bat thrown
at him, in a village where he sent for milk:—to the
best of my recollection, he said he sent his servant for
milk, who raised a disturbance, and the Gentleman was
hurt.

When did you hear Mr. Graham express an opinion
of the disaffection of Cheyt Sing?

I believe about the year 1779, when the additional
tribute was ordered, and the Rajah expressed great
disatisfaction.

Was Mr. Hastings considered, in that part of the
country, as disposed to tyrannize over and oppress the
natives, or rather to befriend and protect them?

Mr. Hastings never interfered with the natives of
that country, that I know of, until after the Revolu-
tion in August 1781.

To what purpose did he then interfere?

He let all the lands in the country.

Did he let them inconsistent with justice, according
to the opinion of the country, or the reverse?

I never heard that he let them contrary to justice
or propriety.

Did you know Bulwant Sing, the father of Cheyt
Sing?

I had no personal acquaintance with him, but I have
had occasion to write to him.

Did you ever hear whether Bulwant Sing was Rajah
of Benares by hereditary right, or by what right did he
become Rajah?

I looked upon him as renter of the country, under the Nabob of Oude.

In the capacity of renter of the country, was Bulwant Sing considered as a vassal, liable to give extraordinary assistance upon extraordinary occasions to the Nabob of Oude, or was he only liable to pay his stipulated rent?

He was looked upon as a dependant upon the Nabob of Oude, who frequently, I believe, extorted money from him exceeding his tribute.

Have you heard that certain privileges were obtained from the Nabob of Oude for Bulwant Sing, by the influence of the English Government?

The settlements between Bulwant Sing and the Nabob of Oude, took place before I was acquainted with the country.

Was it the opinion of the country, that, in consequence of that settlement, Bulwant Sing became an independent Prince? or did they still consider him as a dependant and vassal of the Nabob of Oude?

He was tributary to the Nabob of Oude; but he had the power of life and death in his own hands.

Did they consider his vassalage as extinguished?

At what time?

After the settlement?

He continued paying his tribute till his death.

At what time did Cheyt Sing succeed to be Rajah of Benares?

The latter end of 1770, I believe.

In what light was the Rajah Cheyt Sing considered by the country—as a renter, or as an independent prince?

He was considered by the Europeans to be tributary to the Nabob, and the natives looked up to him as a despotic prince.

By whom was the Mahometan Judge at Benares, of whom you have before spoken, appointed?

By Mr. Hastings—the man I spoke of before.

Was there not a Mahometan Judge at Benares from 1770 to 1775, while the Rajah remained renter of Oude?

There always was, as far as I recollect.

Do you know by whom that Mahometan Judge was always appointed?

By the Nabob of Oude.

When did Mr. Hastings make the first demand of an extraordinary supply of five lacks of rupees from Cheyt Sing?

It was either the latter end of 1778, or beginning of 1779.

Have you said that you heard that Cheyt Sing objected to pay the extraordinary demand?

I never heard that he objected to pay it, but I have heard that he made difficulties in paying it.

Were those difficulties grounded upon his inability to pay, or did he object that he was not bound to pay it?

I understood he pleaded inability to pay it.

Was it usual for Bulwant Sing to send troops to 'Sujah Dowlah, when he was engaged in war?

That never came to my knowledge.

Whether the Sepoys in our army are faithful and obedient to their officers, in matters of discipline—and whether the British military service is agreeable to them?

I believe they are very faithful and obedient, and very well satisfied with our service.

In marching through the different countries of India, is it usual for the British army to preserve exact discipline—and whether our soldiers are suffered to molest, oppress, or plunder the cultivators of the land, and the peaceable inhabitants of the country?

The officers in general pay the strictest attention to the regularity of their troops; and they are never suffered to molest or disturb the natives with impunity, when it comes to the knowledge of the commanding officer.

Do you know whether the British troops have ever carried on war in India in an unnecessary destruction of the country, and in a wanton display of violence and oppression, inhumanity and cruelty?

The

The first part of the question must depend upon, whether that war itself was necessary or not—the whole of the question must indeed depend upon that.

Whether the wars in India are in general carried on with unnecessary marks of cruelty?

That is so general a question—in some cases they are, in others they are not.

The question means the wars carried on by the British army?

Supposing the war just, I have never seen any acts of cruelty.

Do you know whether, in the opinion of the princes and people of India, Mr. Hastings's conduct towards them has been regulated by the principles of truth, good faith, and justice, or otherwise, as far as has come to your knowledge?

It is impossible for me to give any opinion upon that question.

Do you know whether Mr. Hastings is reputed by the people of India to have been just, candid, and honourable in his transactions with them?

That is a question I cannot answer.

Are you conversant with the laws and customs of the upper part of India, and the titles by which property, or any other rights, are held there?

I was a long time resident in that part of the country, and picked up as much as in general Gentlemen do.

Do you remember to have seen a circular letter, or manifesto, published by Cheyt Sing after his expulsion, in which he gave an account of that transaction to the princes of India?

I saw a circular letter, which I understood he sent to Mr. Fowke at Calcutta, supposed to be a circular letter which he sent to the different powers.

Then a Member present produced a paper, purporting to be copy of a translation of a circular letter which Cheyt Sing wrote to the different Chiefs and Rajahs on the late troubles at Benares; and the same was read to the witnesses, and is as follows, viz.

‘ Trans-

• Translation of the circular letter which
 • Cheyt Sing wrote to the different
 • Chiefs and Rajahs, on the late
 • troubles at Benares.

• It is well known to you all, that in these
 • times the Governor, with his followers, came
 • to Benares.

• The particulars of this affair are these.—
 • On his arrival at Buxar, which is the verge
 • of my country, I met him with all my prin-
 • cipal people, in order to do him honour, and
 • tendered him the customary nezers [pre-
 • sents.]

• We discoursed on the subject of my tri-
 • bute, and I expressed my readiness and com-
 • pliance with the Company's demands, pro-
 • fessing my attachment and fidelity to them.
 • Requisitions were then made on me for a
 • crore of rupees [one million sterling], and
 • the surrender of the Fort of Bidgiger, my
 • family residence, the deposit of my women,
 • and of my honour. To the first, I pleaded
 • my inability; and asked what I had done,
 • that the Company should dishonour me so as
 • to take away this Fort, where my family
 • resided?

• On my arrival at Benares a guard was
 • placed over me, which I submitted to; and,
 • soon after, a Chubdar of Mr. Markham's,
 • who had formerly been in my service, and
 • had spite against me, took this opportunity
 • of insulting me, and used improper language
 • to me.

• On this, one of my people, not being a-
 • ble to see his master [Prince] thus abused by
 • a low servant, reprehended him for his be-
 • haviour, which produced words and blows
 • on both sides; when my followers and peo-
 • ple, rushing in, fell on the troops and cut
 • them down, with many killed on both sides;
 • dur-

‘ during which I made my escape, and fled across the river Ganges, with my adherents.

‘ What have I done to deserve this treatment of the Company? The world will judge. I have served them with fidelity and attachment. What fault have I done, or what crime have I committed?

‘ For the support and assistance my father rendered them in their wars with the Nabob Cossim Ally Khân, and with the Nabob Sujah ul Dowlah, they thought themselves bound to protect him from the enmity of the latter Nabob, who was exasperated against him for the above conduct.

‘ They continued to protect him for some years against the machinations of the Nabob Vizier, and the rapacity of his ministers, till death carried him away. The same protection was continued to me; and in course of time, by an exchange of countries, I became tributary to the English, in the same manner that I was to the Nabob, and paid my rents to them instead of to him.

‘ Ever since this time, I have paid them to the utmost farthing; nor have I departed in any shape from my fidelity to them.

‘ What have I done to be treated in this manner—to have my treasures demanded, and my fort, the deposit of my family, wrested from me, and my person disgraced and dishonoured? Have I been guilty of injustice or mal-administration in my country? Look to my districts; look to theirs: Do not the different pictures which they present to you, mark the limits of them more than the boundaries which nature itself has drawn out?

‘ My fields are cultivated; my villages are full of inhabitants; my country is a garden; and my riots [subjects] are happy. My capital is the resort of the principal mer-

‘ chants

' chants of India, from the security I have
 ' given to property. The treasures from the
 ' Mahrattas, the Jauths, the Seicks, and the
 ' most distant nations of India, are deposited
 ' here. Here the orphan and the widow con-
 ' vey their property, and reside here without
 ' fear of rapacity and avarice. The traveller,
 ' from one end of my country to the other,
 ' lays down his burthen, and sleeps in security.

' But what a different picture do the Com-
 ' pany's Provinces present ! There famine and
 ' misery stalk hand in hand through unculti-
 ' vated fields and deserted villages.

' There you meet with nothing but aged
 ' men, who are not able to transport them-
 ' selves away ; or robbers, or tygers in the
 ' fields, now overgrown with wood.

' When any of the servants of the English
 ' have passed through my country, every at-
 ' tention has been shewn them, and all their
 ' wants supplied ; even their very coolies [por-
 ' ters that carry baggage] have had their bur-
 ' thens taken off and carried for them, and
 ' forwarded from villages to villages.

' When any of the Gentlemen travelled
 ' through my country, my officers always wait-
 ' ed on them, to know their wants ; supplied
 ' them with necessaries, provisions, and car-
 ' riage, at my expence ; and performed all
 ' their orders, as if they were my own.

' Let any of them be asked, if they meet
 ' with such treatment in those districts under
 ' the Company's management ? Were not they
 ' almost continually robbed, and in danger of
 ' their lives ?

' The letters of recommendation of any in-
 ' dividual from their Governors, or Counsel-
 ' lers, were like so many bills of exchange, or
 ' orders to make the fortunes of the persons so
 ' recommended,

' And,

‘ And, notwithstanding this attachment and
 ‘ fidelity, envious of the prosperity and riches
 ‘ of my country, I was continually harrassed by
 ‘ sham crimes, or forged calumnies against me,
 ‘ in order to extort money in alleviation of
 ‘ them, or to force me to purchase protection
 ‘ and patronage from their leading men.

‘ Every complaint has been heard against
 ‘ me, and every vagabond encouraged in mis-
 ‘ representing me.

‘ It is lately that Oufan Sing, a relation of
 ‘ my own, a spendthrift, a vagabond, and a
 ‘ man of bad fame, has been taken up by
 ‘ them. This person was expelled my country
 ‘ for his villainies; and some years ago, col-
 ‘ lecting a parcel of followers like himself,
 ‘ invaded it again, and raised contributions
 ‘ from my villages, and plundered many of
 ‘ my towns. They proceeded to Mirzapoor,
 ‘ and were there, on application, met and de-
 ‘ feated by the troops of the English them-
 ‘ selves.

‘ This man has gone to Calcutta, where he
 ‘ has been protected; he has magnified my
 ‘ treasures, and the revenues of my country;
 ‘ he has made offers to take it himself, and
 ‘ has inflamed their minds with imaginary
 ‘ riches; He has now come in the Governor’s
 ‘ train, inflamed him with imaginary riches,
 ‘ and poisoned his mind against me.

‘ Such a servant have I been, and such have
 ‘ been my masters; not contented with my
 ‘ treasures, they thirsted after my honour also.

‘ They have demanded a sum of me which
 ‘ it is out of my power to pay.

‘ They want the plunder of my country.

‘ They demand my Fort, the deposit of my
 ‘ honour, and of my women, whom they want
 ‘ to turn adrift into the wide world.

‘ Arm yourselves, my friends: Let us join
 ‘ to repel those rapacious strangers.

[18]

‘ It is the cause of us all.

‘ When your honour is lost, what is the value of life?—Come with your troops, and join me; I will furnish them with pay and provisions.’

Then the witness was asked,

Whether the letter now read to him is, in substance, the manifesto alluded to?

It is a long time since I saw it—but it is nearly to that purpose.

And then the witness was directed to withdraw.

Then the Committee was moved, That an extract of a letter from the Governor General to Edward Wheeler, Esquire, Council, &c. Fort William, dated Lucknow, 2d April 1784, might be read.

[And the same was read accordingly, and is as follows, viz.]

(*) ‘ Gentlemen,

‘ Having contrived, by making forced stages, while the troops of my escort marched at the ordinary rate, to make a stay of five days at Benares, I was thereby furnished with the means of acquiring some knowledge of the state of the province, which I am anxious to communicate to you. Indeed the enquiry, which was in a great degree obtruded upon me, affected me with very mortifying reflections on my own inability to apply it to any useful purpose.—From the confines of Buxar to Benares, I was followed and fatigued by the clamours of the discontented inhabitants; it was what I expected in a

(*) Read from Extract of Bengal Secret Consultations, the 20th April 1784, contained in a paper, intituled, “ Extracts from Papers (in No. 3. Vol. II.) presented to the House of Commons, upon the 13th day of March, from the East India Company, and ordered to be printed on the 27th day of March 1786,”

‘ degree,

' degree, because it is rare that the exercise of
 ' authority should prove satisfactory to all who
 ' are the objects of it. The distresses which were
 ' produced by the long continued drought, un-
 ' avoidably tended to heighten the general dis-
 ' content; yet I have reason to fear, that the
 ' cause existed principally in a defective, if not a
 ' corrupt and oppressive administration. Of a
 ' multitude of petitions which were presented to
 ' me, and of which I took minutes, every one,
 ' that did not relate to a personal grievance, con-
 ' tinued the representation of one and the same
 ' species of oppression, which is in its nature of
 ' an influence most fatal to the future cultivation.
 ' The practice to which I allude is this:—It is
 ' affirmed, that the aumils and renters exact from
 ' the proprietors of the actual harvest a large in-
 ' crease in kind on their stipulated rent; that is,
 ' from those who hold their pottahs by the tenure
 ' of paying one half of the produce of their crops,
 ' either the whole without a subterfuge, or a large
 ' proportion of it by false measurement, or other
 ' pretexts; and from those, whose engagements
 ' are for a fixed rent in money, the half, or a
 ' greater proportion, is taken in kind. This is,
 ' in effect, a tax upon the industry of the inha-
 ' bitants; since there is scarce a field of grain in
 ' the province, I might say not one, which has
 ' not been preserved by the incessant labour of
 ' the cultivator, by digging wells for their sup-
 ' ply, or watering them from the wells of mason-
 ' ry, with which this country abounds, or from
 ' the neighbouring tanks, rivers, and nullahs.
 ' The people who imposed on themselves this vo-
 ' luntary and extraordinary labour, and not un-
 ' attended with expence, did it in the expectation
 ' of reaping the profits of it; and it is as certain
 ' that they would not have done it, if they had
 ' known that their rulers, from whom they were
 ' entitled to an indemnification, would take from
 ' them what they had so hardly earned. If the

' same administration continues, and the country
 ' shall again labour under a want of the natural
 ' rains, every field will be abandoned, the reve-
 ' nue fail, and thousands perish through the want
 ' of subsistence; for who will labour for the sole
 ' benefit of others, and to make himself the sub-
 ' ject of vexation? These practices are not to be
 ' imputed to the aumils employed in the districts,
 ' but to the Naib himself. The avowed princi-
 ' ple on which he acts, and which he acknow-
 ' ledged to myself, is, that the whole sum fixed
 ' for the revenue of the province must be collect-
 ' ed; and that, for this purpose, the deficiency
 ' arising in places where the crops have failed, or
 ' which have been left uncultivated, must be sup-
 ' plied from the resources of others, where the
 ' soil has been better suited to the season, or the
 ' industry of the cultivators more successfully ex-
 ' erted; a principle which, however specious and
 ' plausible it may at first appear, certainly tends
 ' to the most pernicious and destructive conse-
 ' quences. If this declaration of the Naib had
 ' been made only to myself, I might have doubted
 ' my construction of it; but it was repeated by
 ' him to Mr. Anderson, who understood it exactly
 ' in the same sense.—In the management of the
 ' customs, the conduct of the Naib, or of the
 ' officers under him, was forced also upon my at-
 ' tention. The exorbitant rates exacted by an
 ' arbitrary valuation of the goods, the practice of
 ' exacting duties twice on the same goods, first
 ' from the seller, and afterwards from the buyer,
 ' and the vexatious disputes and delays drawn on
 ' the merchants by these oppressions, were loudly
 ' complained of; and some instances of this kind
 ' were said to exist at the very time when I was
 ' in Benares. Under such circumstances we are
 ' not to wonder if the merchants of foreign coun-
 ' tries are discouraged from resorting to Benares,
 ' and if the commerce of that province should an-
 ' nually decay. Other evils, or imputed evils,
 ' have

' have accidentally come to my knowledge, which
 ' I will not now particularize; as I hope that, with
 ' the assistance of the Resident, they may be in
 ' part corrected. One, however, I must mention,
 ' because it has been verified by my own observa-
 ' tion, and is of that kind which reflects an un-
 ' merited reproach on our general and national
 ' character. When I was at Buxar, the Resident,
 ' at my desire, enjoined the Naib to appoint cre-
 ' ditable people to every town through which our
 ' rout lay, to persuade and encourage the inhabi-
 ' tants to remain in their houses, promising to
 ' give them guards as I approached, and they re-
 ' quired it for their protection; and that he might
 ' perceive how earnest I was for his observation of
 ' this precaution (which I am certain was faithfully
 ' delivered) I repeated it to him in person, and
 ' dismissed him, that he might precede me for
 ' that purpose: But, to my great disappointment,
 ' I found every place through which I passed aban-
 ' doned, nor had there been a man left in any of
 ' them for their protection. I am sorry to add,
 ' that, from Buxar to the opposite boundary, I
 ' have seen nothing but the traces of complete
 ' devastation in every village, whether caused by
 ' the followers of the troops which have lately
 ' passed, for their natural relief (and I know not
 ' whether my own may not have had their share),
 ' or from the apprehensions of the inhabitants left
 ' to themselves, and of themselves deserting their
 ' houses. I wish to acquit my own countrymen
 ' of the blame of these unfavourable appearances,
 ' and in my own heart I do acquit them; for at
 ' one encampment, near a large village called
 ' Derrera, in the Pergunnah of Zemaneea, a crowd
 ' of people came to me, complaining that their
 ' former aumil, who was a native of the place,
 ' and had long been established in authority over
 ' them—and whose custom it had been, when-
 ' ever any troops passed, to remain in person on
 ' the spot for their protection—having been re-
 ' moved,

' moved, the new aumil, on the approach of any
 ' military detachment, himself first fled from the
 ' place, and the inhabitants having no one to
 ' whom they could apply for redress, or for the
 ' representation of their grievances, and being
 ' thus remediless, fled also; so that their houses
 ' and effects became a prey to any person who
 ' chose to plunder them. The general conclusi-
 ' on appeared to me an inevitable consequence
 ' from such a state of facts, and my own senses
 ' bore testimony to it in this specific instance;
 ' nor do I know how it is possible for any officer
 ' commanding a military party, how attentive so-
 ' ever he may be to the discipline and forbearance
 ' of his people, to prevent disorders, when there
 ' is neither opposition to hinder, nor evidence to
 ' deter them. These, and many other irregula-
 ' rities, I impute solely to the Naib; and I think
 ' it my duty to recommend his instant removal.'

MAJOR GILPIN called in, and examined.

As to the correspondence which passed between him and the British Resident at Oude, during the time he was on guard over the Begums of Oude;

Was you not stationed as a guard upon the palaces of the mother and grandmother of the Nabob of Oude, and their eunuchs?

I was.

Have you the letters that passed between you and the British Resident, Mr. Middleton, while you was upon guard over the palaces of the mother and grandmother of the Nabob of Oude?

I have most of them, but I have not brought any of them to the House with me—but I am in possession of them.

Have you any objection to deliver in that correspondence for the use of the Committee at their next sitting?

There

There are many parts of that correspondence which relate to other circumstances, and which it may not be proper to make public—I mean, that there are private circumstances in them.

And a Member present having produced a paper, purporting to be copy of a letter directed to Major Martin Gilpin, commanding at Fyzabad, signed Nathaniel Middleton, dated Lucknow, the 1st of June, 1782, which he desired might be shewn to the witness;

The witness was directed to withdraw.

And it being agreed in the Committee that the witness should be further examined, with respect to such correspondence, at the next sitting of the Committee;

The witness was again called in, and asked,
How long have you been in the Company's service?
About seventeen years.

Was you in Oude at the time of the death of Sujah Dowlah?

I was encamped in the Rumna, near the palace of Fyzabad, at the time he died.

Was Sujah Dowlah's army considerably in arrears at the time of his death?

It was.

Do you know whether a considerable sum of money was due to the East India Company at that time from Sujah Dowlah?

It was said there was a very considerable sum of money due at that time.

Have you heard what became of the treasure Sujah Dowlah was possessed of at the time of his death?

I suppose it was in his zenana.

By being lodged in the zenana, in whose possession did it come after his death?

In course to his widow.

Did you ever hear that Sujah Dowlah bequeathed it to his widow by his will?

I do not recollect ever hearing that he made a will.

Do

Do you believe that the Begums gave up all the money that was in the zenana, when you had the charge of them in 1782?

It is impossible for me to answer that question.

What was the general opinion upon that subject at Fyzabad, as far as you had an opportunity of knowing?

The Begum declared herself that she had done it; but many people were of opinion she had not.

What was the cause assigned for the confinement of Jewar and Behar Ally Cawn, the eunuchs?

For a breach of contract with Mr. Middleton.

Of what nature was the contract with Mr. Middleton?

As I understand the circumstance, they had agreed to pay near sixty lack of rupees within a stipulated time; which agreement they did not perform.

Do you believe they had ability left to perform that agreement?

It was generally understood that they had.

From your knowledge of the manners and customs of Indostan, do you know whether the natives will submit to long imprisonment, in order to elude the payment of money which they have agreed to pay?

There have been many instances of that nature.

Had you any opportunity of knowing the characters of the Begums, and whether they were disaffected to our Government?

I had a very good opportunity of knowing, from the circumstance of my having commanded so long there. The elder Begum, it was generally understood, and I have reason to believe, was disaffected to our government; and my sentiments of her conduct stand recorded in my correspondence to the Court of Lucknow to that effect; but, with respect to the Bow Begum, I acquit her entirely of any disaffection to our government, so far as comes to my knowledge. Appearances were for some time against her; but, on cool deliberate enquiry, I found there was no grounds for supposing her guilty of any rebellious principles, at the time of Cheyt Sing's rebellion,

In

In what situation were the women in the Khourdh Mhal, and what description of persons were they of, when you commanded at Fyzabad?

They were dependent on his Excellency the Nabob for subsistence, whose officers were very negligent in that business; and I had occasion to represent the same to Mr. Bristow, the then resident at Lucknow, who acquainted the Nabob with the circumstances; and I obtained ten thousand rupees to give them relief, which I paid to the officers of that zenana.

Of what description of persons were the women of the Khourdh Mhal?

They were the concubines of the late Sujah Dowlah, the present Nabob's father.

Was the English resident, or any other English Gentlemen, culpable for not providing funds for their maintenance?

I never understood the English resident had any thing to do with that zenana—on the contrary, there was a tuncaw granted on the Fousdarry of Sultanpore for forty thousand rupees a year, to be paid for the support of that zenana.

Does the present Nabob Vizier live at Lucknow in great state; and is his Court as splendid a one as it was in the time of his father?

I see very little alteration in the state of the Nabob's Court, or in the splendor of his equipage, from the time of his being placed on the musnud till I left the country;—he never kept so splendid a Court as his father did, I believe.

Did you know Bulbudder Sing?

I did—he was a most notorious rebel.

Was you ever employed against him?

I was.

Upon what occasion, and at what time?

It was in February, 1782: He first waylaid Mr. Middleton on the banks of the Goomty, and I marched to his relief; after which, I was employed for several weeks in following him, and at length drove him out of the country; but he soon returned again, after I left the country.

D

Did

Did you ever enter into any negociation with him?

He did send his vakeels to me for that purpose, but he increased in his demands as his army increased, and our agreement was broke off.

What was the general character of Mr. Hastings in Oude, in Bengal, and amongst the natives and his own countrymen?

He was looked upon as a man of very great abilities.

Had they confidence in his word and in his faith?

I ever understood that they had.

At the time of the insurrection at Benares, was his personal safety deemed of consequence to the British empire in India, by those of his countrymen with whom you associated?

It undoubtedly was of the utmost consequence.

Have you heard that Mr. Hastings, after the insurrection at Benares, treated Cheyt Sing's people with severity—those particularly attached to Cheyt Sing?

Far from it—he treated them with more lenity than probably any other person would have done under the like circumstances—I speak, after the circumstance of the massacre that happened at Benares.

Have you understood that Mr. Hastings spoke the Persian and Indostan language with fluency?

I do not know it from my own knowledge, but it was generally supposed that he understood them both perfectly.

Was it Mr. Hastings's custom to admit the natives of India to frequent conversations with him?

So it was reported.

Was it believed that, in disputes and competitions between the natives and Europeans, Mr. Hastings generally took the part of the latter against the natives?

I cannot answer that from my own knowledge; but I have frequently heard complaints that he shewed more attention to the natives than to Europeans.

Have you heard it reported that our officers were well treated in passing through Cheyt Sing's territories, previous to the rebellion?

There

There were frequent complaints of insolence from the Cutwals of the different villages through which the officers passed.

Do you apprehend that Sujah Dowlah had lodged his treasure in his Zenana for safe custody, or that by lodging it there he had meant to transfer the property in that treasure to the Begum?

His treasury, I understood, was in the Zenana: it is impossible for me to know upon what account he lodged it there; but they generally do keep the treasure in the Zenana.

Do you know whether Cheyt Sing was, in the opinion of the country, reputed a great Zemindar, or was he reputed an independent prince?

He was generally called a Zemindar.

Do you know whether, by the customs of Indostan, Zemindars are liable to give extraordinary assistance, upon extraordinary occasions, to those of whom they hold their Zemindaries?

They are generally understood so to do.

Was the contract made by the eunuchs with Mr. Middleton voluntary on their part, or forced upon them?

I cannot say; it was made some months before I commanded at Fyzabad—I believe near six months.

Did you never hear the ground or occasion of that contract?

It was in consequence of the payment of some money in the month of January; but the particulars I do not recollect.

Do you think it was in the power of the Begums to form a plan for the utter extirpation of the English out of India, with any prospect of success?

By no means.

Do you think it probable that any disposition or conduct whatever of those women could be dangerous to our existence in India?

I have before mentioned, that I understood the elder Begum was rebellious in her principles; but I never understood that she had any power to carry on a negotiation of that kind with any probability of success.

When was you at Benares, before the rebellion of Cheyt Sing?

In 1778 I passed through Benares, on my way to the army that was in the field; but I made no stay there.

How soon did you return to Benares, and how long did you stay?

Not until after the rebellion; and I staid only one or two days, as we came down the country.

Was the government established in the country of Oude understood to be substantially the British Government?

It was the Nabob's Government, and so understood, and not to be the British government?

By whose orders were you placed to keep guard on the palaces of Fyzabad?

By the resident at the Nabob's court, Mr. Middleton.

Did you take to Mr. Middleton any memorial and document, on the part of the Begums, denying the having any share in the commotions that happened in Baraich and Goruckpoor?

I presented Mr. Middleton with some original letters that were wrote by Colonel Hannay and Captain Gordon; which letters are published in the charges exhibited against Mr. Hastings.

Were they delivered to you by order of the Begum?

At the request of the Begum I delivered them to Mr. Middleton.

What did Mr. Middleton do in consequence of those papers?

I do not believe any thing was done in consequence of the receipt of them, as Mr. Middleton was soon after relieved by Mr. Bristow.

Have you not heard that the Rajah Bulbudder has been dispossessed of his Zemindary by the Nabob Sujah ul Dowlah?

His adherents gave out so; but I cannot speak as to the certainty of it.

Whether

Whether a pension, which had been paid by the Begum, continued to be regularly paid to the Rajah Bulbudder, after the resumption of the Jaghires?

No, I believe it was not so—nor had he it from the Begum but by force—it was by threats that he got it: rather than have the country destroyed, she gave him a small pension.

Whether, in consequence of the resumption of the Jaghires, a general discontent did not prevail through the country?

They certainly were very much discontented, from the change of government from the Begums to the Nabob.

Whether the country in general were not discontented, and disposed for rebellion?

In the districts of Salone and Jace they were; these were the districts that comprehended the Begums Jaghire.

Were they not so at Kyrabad?

I never was there.

Were they not so in Baraich and Goruckpoor.

I never was there.

Have you heard, in the country of Oude, that complaints were made by the natives, of their being oppressed by British officers in the collection of the revenue—those officers who commanded the Nabob's forces?

In the districts I was in, I do not recollect—I cannot charge my memory with any thing of that kind.

Did you hear, at that time, any complaints made of oppressions which had been used in the collection of the revenue, by British officers, in the districts of Baraich and Goruckpoor?

I can only speak as to hearsay—there were such reports, but I know nothing about them.

Were they credited reports, or loose rumours?

They were general conversations; but what credit is to be given to them, I cannot say.

Did you not hear there were complaints made of the conduct of officers in the collection of the revenue in the Duabe?

I do

I do not recollect that there were any officers in the receipt of collections in the Duabe—what I understand by the Duabe, is the country between the Jumna and the Ganges.

Did you hear any complaints there or thereabouts?

No, I do not recollect hearing of any.

Did you hear of the Nabob's desire of the reform, or withdrawing of any of his regiments commanded by British officers, on account of misconduct?

I do not recollect any thing of the kind at present.

Do you know whether he desired the recal or reform of Major Osborn's battalion?

I have heard he did.

Have you not heard that it was one object of the treaty of Chunar, to recal or reform those battalions?

I do not recollect ever reading that treaty.

Was the treasure left by Sujah Dowlah in the Zenana, understood by the country to be the private property of the Begums, or to belong to his successor Asoph ul Dowlah?

As heir apparent, he had some little right to expect it; particularly when the Jaghire was granted to his mother.

In 1782, was the country of Oude in a good state of cultivation?

Some part of it was well cultivated, and others indifferently.

Had it gone much to decay since the death of Sujah Dowlah?

It was not in so flourishing a state as at the time of Sujah Dowlah's death.

Had there been a severe drought in 1780, 1781, or 1782.

There had.

Had not this contributed very much to the decay of cultivation?

Undoubtedly it had.

Did the Bow Begum, during Sujah Dowlah's life, act as treasurer to him?

Not that I know of.

Where

Where did Bulbudder, the Rajah of Salone, inhabit, after he was dispossessed of his Jaghire by Sujah Dowlah?

He wandered from place to place, and raised money in the different parts of the district; and he had no fixed place of abode that I know of.

What persons had he under his command, that enabled him so to do?

He had many refractory Zemindars under him—Chine Sing, Buftar Sing, and Nundaham.

Do you know by what means he obtained a tribute, or annual payment, from the Begum?

It was generally supposed that they did it by threats—that he would destroy the grain upon the ground if she would not do it: but I speak only from hearsay, as to that.

At what times of the year did he usually make his incursions, and raise his contributions?

I found him in the country early in February, and he continued in it till the latter end of May before I drove him out, and that was by force.

Which are the harvest months in that country?

The month of March is the height of it.

Do you know how Mr. Hastings was attended in his journey from Calcutta to Benares, immediately before the massacre of Cheyt Sing?

I do not; I was at that time in the Maratta country.

Do you know how he was attended in his last journey from Calcutta to Lucknow, in 1784?

I do not; I was at Bourapoor at that time.

And then the witness was directed to withdraw.

To report a progress, &c.

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of

M I N U T E S, &c.

Jovis, 18^o die Maij 1786.

COMMITTEE of the whole House on the Articles of Charge of High Crimes and Misdemeanors, presented to the House against Warren Hastings, Esquire, late Governor General of Bengal.

To the Correspondence respecting the Princesses of Oude.

MAJOR GILPIN called in, and examined.

[Then several papers, purporting to be copies of letters, being the correspondence before mentioned, at the beginning of the examination of this witness, on Tuesday last, and which passed between the witness and Mr. Middleton—the witness and Mr. Johnson—and the witness and Mr. Bristow, being shewn to the witness, he was asked,]

Have you examined these papers, and do you find the same, there stated to be copies of letters written and received by you, to be true and authentic copies of the originals?

E

I have

I have examined them, and do admit them to be true and authentic copies; there is a remark in the papers, that there are three of my letters wanting, which three letters I have brought with me.

And the same three letters were brought up to the table.

And then the witness was directed to withdraw.

Then the said copies and letters were read; and are as follows:

‘ To Major Martin Gilpin, commanding at Fyzabad.

‘ Sir,

‘ The Begum’s answer to the Nabob’s letter, regarding the payment of the balance still due from her on the assignment in favour of the Honourable Company, being extremely inconclusive and unsatisfactory, it is equally his Excellency’s and my wish to take some more effectual means of bringing this long-impending and very unpleasant business to an immediate issue; but I confess I am myself very much at a loss what expedient I can with propriety adopt, which would be likely to accomplish this subject:—Restraints might indeed be imposed upon the Begum which would most assuredly compel her compliance; but although the Nabob himself recommends it, it would be with very great reluctance I should proceed to such violent extremities against a person in her circumstances; nor could I ever think of it but as a last and indispensable resource: Her incendiary conduct, and notorious encouragement of the flames that were spread by the late insurrection at Benares, have justly forfeited every claim she had to the protection of our government, and might indeed justify a departure from that delicacy of conduct which would be otherwise her due, and which I have always invariably observed to her; but as that is not the subject at present in discussion between us, I do not mean that it should influence

fluence my actions; my object is merely the recovery of the assignment given upon her in favour of the Company, which, according to the last account, adjusted in the presence of her own agents, amounts to rupees 6,57,417. 13. 10; and I shall be happy if this can be effected without any further severities.—It is now upwards of four months since the prisoners Bahar and Jewar Ally Cawn bound themselves, by a writing under their respective seals, to make good the balance due upon the Nabob's payment, accepted in the first instance by themselves, in the course of one month: Upon the faith of this obligation, and their solemn assurances, I consented to their being relieved from their fetters, and myself left Fyzabad; but near two months having elapsed without my having either received the expected payment, or any fresh assurances that I could depend upon, I was constrained to order them again into their former situation, in which they have ever since remained.

There can be no doubt that these men have the means of liquidating my demands upon the Begum, had they the inclination, since they notoriously possess in trust all the wealth of the Bhow Begum, or, which is the same thing, were the instruments of concealing it; and when hard pressed they pledged themselves, in writing, to make good the Nabob's assignment in my favour, whether or not the Begum should yield her assent to it; my demand, therefore, in the first instance, is upon them.—For your information I send you enclosed authentic copies of their two separate obligations, No. 1. and No. 2, by which you will see their original acceptance of the assignment, and their subsequent agreement to discharge the balance in one month after my departure from Fyzabad; and to these I add a copy of a letter received yesterday from the Vizier, authorizing and urging me to use every means in my power to enforce their compliance.

‘ I have therefore now to request that you will,
 ‘ in person, attend the prisoners; and having caused
 ‘ these papers to be read and explained to them,
 ‘ that you demand from them immediately a posi-
 ‘ tive answer, whether they will or will not make
 ‘ good the said balance of 6,57,417. 13. 10; and
 ‘ upon receiving from them a negative or unsatis-
 ‘ factory reply, you will inform them that all fur-
 ‘ ther negotiation being at an end, they must pre-
 ‘ pare for their removal to Lucknow, where they
 ‘ will be called upon to answer, not only their re-
 ‘ cent breach of faith and solemn engagement, but
 ‘ also to atone, for other heavy offences, the punish-
 ‘ ment of which, as has frequently been signified to
 ‘ them, was in their power to have mitigated by a
 ‘ proper acquittal of themselves in this transaction.
 ‘ You will please further to inform the Bhow Begum
 ‘ of these instructions; and give her clearly to un-
 ‘ derstand, that these proceedings against her agents,
 ‘ Bahar and Jewar Ally Cawn, will in no respect
 ‘ whatever effect any claim upon her, which I shall
 ‘ continue to prosecute by every means in my
 ‘ power, nor consent to the removal of the troops
 ‘ from Fyzabad as long as a single rupee remains
 ‘ due.

‘ You will inform me, as soon as possible, of the
 ‘ result of your demand upon the prisoners, and the
 ‘ consequent intimation to the Begum; when I
 ‘ shall furnish you with final instructions for your
 ‘ conduct.

‘ Lucknow, 1st June 1782.

‘ (Signed) NATHL MIDDLETON.’

‘ To Nathaniel Middleton, Esquire, Resident at the
 ‘ Court at Lucknow.

‘ Sir,

‘ Agreeable to your instructions I went to the pri-
 ‘ soners Bahar and Jewar Ally Cawn, accompanied
 ‘ by

‘ by Hoolafs Roy, who read the papers respecting
‘ the balance now due, &c. &c.

‘ In general terms they expressed concern at not
‘ being able to discharge the same without the assist-
‘ ance of the Begum, and requested indulgence to
‘ send a message to her on that subject, and in the
‘ evening they would give an answer.

‘ I went at the time appointed for the answer,
‘ but did not receive a satisfactory one: In conse-
‘ quence of which, I desired them to be ready, at
‘ the shortest notice, to proceed to Lucknow; and
‘ explained to them every particular contained in
‘ your letter of the 1st instant respecting them.

‘ Yesterday morning I sent for Lataffit Ally Cawn,
‘ and desired him to go to the Bhow Begum, and
‘ deliver the substance of my instructions to her,
‘ which he did, and returned with the enclosed let-
‘ ter from her. From some circumstances which I
‘ have heard to-day, I am hopeful the prisoners
‘ will soon think seriously of their removal, and pay
‘ the balance, rather than subject themselves to an
‘ inconvenient journey to Lucknow.

‘ I have the honour to be,

‘ Sir,

‘ Fyzabad

‘ Your most obedient

‘ 5th June 1782.

‘ humble servant,

(Signed)

M. GILPIN,

‘ Major Com s.

‘ To Major Martin Gilpin, commanding at Fyzabad.

‘ Sir,

‘ I have been favoured with your letter of the 5th
‘ instant, informing me of the steps you had taken
‘ in consequence of my instructions of the 1st, and
‘ covering a letter from the Bhow Begum, which is
‘ so unsatisfactory that I cannot think of returning
‘ an answer to it. Indeed, as all correspondence
‘ between the Begum and me has long been stop-
‘ ped,

‘ped, I request you will be pleased to inform her,
 ‘that I by no means wish to resume it, or to main-
 ‘tain any friendly intercourse with her, until she
 ‘has made good my claim upon her for the balance
 ‘due.

‘I have now, in conformity to my former instruc-
 ‘tions, to desire that the two prisoners, Bahar and
 ‘Jewar Ally Cawn, may be immediately sent under
 ‘a sufficient guard to Lucknow, unless, upon your
 ‘imparting to them this intimation, either they or
 ‘the Begum should actually pay the balance, or
 ‘give you such assurances or security for the assets,
 ‘to be immediately forth-coming, as you think can
 ‘be relied upon; in which case you will of course
 ‘suspend the execution of this order.

‘I wish you, Sir, to explain once more to the
 ‘prisoners the imprudence and folly of their con-
 ‘duct, in forcing me to a measure which must be at-
 ‘tended with consequences so very serious to them;
 ‘and that when once they are removed to Luck-
 ‘now, it will not be in my power to shew them
 ‘mercy, or to stand between them and the venge-
 ‘ance of the Nabob. Advise them to reflect seri-
 ‘ously upon the unhappy situation in which they
 ‘will be involved in one case, and the relief which
 ‘it will be in my power to procure them in the
 ‘other, and let them make their option; but you
 ‘will be careful to convince them that this is the
 ‘last application which will be made to them. You
 ‘will inform the Begum of these instructions.

‘I have nothing more to add, but that I rely
 ‘greatly on your abilities and prudent management
 ‘for a successful issue to this business. You are al-
 ‘ready informed that my immediate object is the
 ‘recovery of the balance due from the Begum, as
 ‘stated in my letter of the 1st instant; and notwith-
 ‘standing any order I may give you, I desire you
 ‘will consider yourself to possess a discretionary
 ‘power to deviate from them as local circumstances
 ‘may require; and, in short, to pursue, unrestrict-
 ‘ed, such measures as to your own judgment shall
 ‘appear

‘ appear best calculated to ensure the most certain and
 ‘ speedy accomplishment of my object.

‘ Lucknow, ‘ I have, &c.

‘ 9 June 1782. (Signed) NATH^L MIDDLETON.’

‘ To N. Middleton, Esquire, Resident at the Court
 ‘ of Lucknow.

‘ Sir,

‘ Indisposition prevented my replying to your letter of the 9th instant sooner.

‘ I explained every circumstance contained in
 ‘ your letter to Bahar and Jewar Ally Cawn relative
 ‘ to them; and as I could not draw a satisfactory
 ‘ answer from them, I desired they would be ready
 ‘ to proceed to Lucknow on Monday morning the
 ‘ 17th instant, and issued orders for a detachment
 ‘ to be in readiness to escort them.

‘ Since which various messages and plans for the
 ‘ payment of the balance were offered to me, both
 ‘ by the Begum and the prisoners.

‘ In all of which such a length of time was required by the parties to discharge the same, that
 ‘ I could not, conformable to your instructions, attend to them.

‘ They urged my addressing you on the subject,
 ‘ but I assured them it was in vain; that I had already acquainted you they were to march on Monday, consequently it was not in my power to keep
 ‘ them here any longer.

‘ Yesterday the prisoners requested to see me,
 ‘ and in the evening I went to them.

‘ They informed me that the Begum was very
 ‘ desirous to pay the balance, but at present it was
 ‘ not in her power to do it in money; but that she
 ‘ would ransack the Zenanah for kemcobs, silks,
 ‘ muslins, cloths, &c. &c. to that amount; and
 ‘ that she would even admit of a deduction from
 ‘ the annual allowance that would be made her for
 ‘ subsistence in lieu of her jaghire.

‘ I desired them to advert to the murmuring that
 ‘ the sale of articles on a former occasion caused,
 ‘ which they themselves informed me of when I first
 ‘ demanded payment of the balance, and to the re-
 ‘ ply I made them, which was, that a gem to-day
 ‘ might be valued at 20,000 rupees, yet if it was
 ‘ requisite to turn it into cash, it might not sell
 ‘ for half the sum to-morrow; consequently, it was
 ‘ of no greater value in payment of that nature than
 ‘ the sum it actually sold for.

‘ That I was sure of the same circumstance in the
 ‘ present case, and therefore advised them to urge the
 ‘ Begum for payment in cash before Monday.

‘ I am yet hopeful that to-morrow will be a busy
 ‘ day. In the morning I shall send to know what
 ‘ time of the day they will see me, that I may bring
 ‘ the officer commanding the escort to take charge of
 ‘ them, which will probably have the desired effect.

‘ Fyzabad,

‘ I have the honour, &c.

‘ 15 June 1782. (Signed) ‘ MARTIN GILPIN,
 ‘ Major Com^{ds}.

‘ To Richard Johnson, Esquire, Act^s Resident at the
 ‘ Court at Lucknow.

‘ Sir,

‘ After the most urgent arguments, both to the
 ‘ Begum and the prisoners Bahar and Jewar Ally
 ‘ Cawn, for the payment of the balance, I found
 ‘ it was in vain to expect money from them, with-
 ‘ out using severities I was not impowered to inflict.

‘ I therefore (conformable to Mr. Middleton’s
 ‘ instructions) ordered the prisoners to proceed to
 ‘ Lucknow, under a strong guard of two hundred
 ‘ men, commanded by Lieutenant Crow, and they
 ‘ marched from this on Tuesday the 18th instant,
 ‘ two coss out of town.

‘ When they arrived at the ground, I wrote to
 ‘ Lieutenant Crow, and desired him to tell the pri-
 ‘ soners, if they would pay the balance that I would
 ‘ order them to return, and requested he would ex-
 ‘ plain

plain the horrid situation they must be in at Lucknow, probably for life.

Lieutenant Crow could obtain no other answer, than that it was not in their power to do it; but they requested I would urge the Begum again for payment, which I did, and had the following answer:

“Release my jaghire and my cojahs, and then I will sell goods to that amount.”

Next morning the prisoners marched to Begum Gunge, when Lieutenant Crow begged them to consider their situation, and offer terms for payment; that he would halt until he had an answer from me; but they still declared their inability.

I sent again to the Begum, who returned me the same answer as before.

A spy (that I had placed over the prisoners, to attend to what messages might pass between them and the Begum) informed me, that on their arrival at Begum Gunge, they sent to the Begum, desiring her to consider that their situation grew more and more serious, and urged strong arguments to induce her to pay the balance; that if she did not, they must at Lucknow divulge every secret to save themselves.

From this message I had hopes the business would be settled, and I have waited in anxious expectations of hearing from her all day.

The cojahs one day told me, that if I would pitch the Begum's camp equipage, and desire her to prepare for an immediate journey, in all probability she would pay the balance due; however, I would not venture to take a step of that kind without your orders and authority, which, give me leave to assure you, I shall be happy to receive, and that I will execute them with pleasure.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

Fyzabad,

(Signed) MARTIN GILPIN,

20th June, 1782.

Major Com^{dg.}

F

To

‘ To Major Martin Gilpin, commanding at Fyzabad.

‘ Sir,

‘ I have received the honour of your letter of
‘ the 20th. The prisoners arrived here this morn-
‘ ing; Lieutenant Crow has delivered them over to
‘ Captain Waugh, and returns to you in a day or
‘ two.

‘ I think their hint to you a very good one, and
‘ worth improving upon; was the Bhow Begum to
‘ think that she must go to Allahabad, or any other
‘ place, while her palace is searched for the hid-
‘ den treasure of the late Vizier, it might go fur-
‘ ther than any other step that can be immediately
‘ taken towards procuring payment of the balance
‘ outstanding.

‘ The prisoners are to be threatened with severi-
‘ ties to-morrow, to make them discover where the
‘ balance may be procurable, the fear of which may
‘ possibly have a good effect; and the apprehensions
‘ of the Begum, lest they should discover the hidden
‘ treasure, may induce her to make you tenders of
‘ payment, which you may give any reasonable en-
‘ couragement to promote that may occur to you.

‘ The jaghire cannot be released to her on any
‘ other terms, nor even to the Nabob, until the five
‘ lacks for which it was granted be paid up; and
‘ the prisoners must also be detained until the full
‘ 55 lacks be liquidated; consequently, nothing
‘ but the fear of an increase of demand upon breach
‘ of the first engagement on her part will induce
‘ her to prompt payment.

‘ Lucknow,

‘ I have, &c.

‘ 24th June, 1782.

‘ (Signed) R. JOHNSON.

‘ To

‘ To Richard Johnson, Esquire, Resident at the Court
‘ of Lucknow.

‘ Sir,

‘ This morning I desired my Commandant would
‘ send for one of the Begum’s cojahs, and enquire
‘ after her health ; that I had supposed she had for-
‘ got that I was here, and the business I was order-
‘ ed upon, by not hearing from her since the pri-
‘ soners went away.

‘ I desired him at the same time to enquire what
‘ camp equipage and carriage she had for it ; and
‘ judging the cojah would enquire the cause of such
‘ a question, I prepared him with a suitable answer.

‘ The cojah took the alarm as I wished, and de-
‘ sired to know the reason of such enquiry : The
‘ commandant (of whose fidelity I have had long
‘ experience) replied, “ I do not know ; I was with
‘ the Major this morning, when he received an
‘ express from Lucknow, and, after reading his
‘ letters, he desired me to make enquiry about the
‘ Begum’s camp equipage, &c. and he only added,
‘ however disagreeable orders might be, it was his
‘ duty to obey them.”

‘ This evening the said cojah came to me, and told
‘ me, if I was at leisure in the morning, he would
‘ be glad to speak with me.

‘ From which I should imagine she has also taken
‘ the alarm ; and I acquaint you with the particu-
‘ lars, that should you think a hint to Bahar Ally
‘ Cawn requisite (from whom she has accounts daily)
‘ that orders were sent to me respecting the Begum,
‘ it might at this juncture increase her fears, and
‘ bring matters to a speedy issue.

‘ I have the honour to be,

‘ Sir,

‘ Fyzabad, ‘ Your most obed^t humble servant,
‘ 27th June, 1782. ‘ (Signed) MARTIN GILPIN,
‘ Major Com^{dg}.’

‘ To Major Martin Gilpin, commanding at Fyzabad.

‘ Sir,

‘ I received the honour of your letter of the 27th ultimo; sincerely hope your endeavours at Fyzabad may meet with some success, as mine here with the prisoners promise very little.

‘ If nothing else will do, recourse must be had (for which I have the Nabob’s sanction) to putting a guard upon the palace gates of the elder Begum, and straitening the entrance of provisions for a day or two, taking care that no real injury be suffered, only endeavouring to alarm by every possible means.

‘ Lucknow, ‘ I have, &c.
‘ 4th July, 1782. ‘ (Signed) R. JOHNSON.’

‘ To Richard Johnson, Esquire, Resident at the Court at Lucknow.

‘ Sir,

‘ To give you a relation of every letter and message that has passed between the Begum and me since my letter of the 27th ultimo, would be intruding on your time to little or no purpose.

‘ It is however necessary to assure you, that I have done and said every thing that imagination could invent or suggest to induce her to pay the balance.

‘ One day she gives me reason to expect a reconciliation and payment, the next she expresses her poverty and inability without her Jaghire to mortgage for it.

‘ In short, she is the most obdurate of her sex; and I fear I must post a company of Sepoys at the old Lady’s gate to-morrow, conformable to your letter of the 24th instant.

‘ She has been so told, that I have the orders by me to remove her, and she declares she will put an
‘ end

‘ end to her existence rather than suffer it ; but these
‘ are words of course in her situation.

‘ The old Lady has offered me one lack of ru-
‘ pees to send for the prisoners, to be paid in twenty-
‘ four hours after their arrival at this place.

‘ I have the honour to be,

‘ Sir,

‘ Fyzabad, ‘ Your most obed^t humble Servant,
‘ 6th July, 1782. ‘ (Signed) M. GILPIN,
‘ Major Com^{dg}.

‘ To Major Martin Gilpin, commanding at Fyzabad.

‘ Sir,

‘ I am honoured with your letter of the 6th. The
‘ lack of rupees offered by the Begum, would be of
‘ little consequence, if paid upon condition of the
‘ restoration of the prisoners, through whom alone
‘ the whole balance can be obtained, if it is obtain-
‘ able. Unless therefore they will pay it without
‘ such condition annexed, the negotiation is fruitless.

‘ I have this day sent the prisoners word, that as
‘ they persist in declaring that they know of no
‘ secreted or deposited treasure in the hands of the
‘ Bow Begum, excepting that which they have paid
‘ to the Company ; and further, that they possess no
‘ means of liquidating the balance, which were the
‘ only purposes for which I brought them from
‘ Fyzabad, and for the fulfilment of which I would
‘ have interceded for the remission of their crimes
‘ against the Company : but this being now over by
‘ their obstinacy, I should now send them to Chunar
‘ Gur, of which I gave them four days notice ; that
‘ as they were now about to be separated for ever
‘ from their principals, they might have no oppor-
‘ tunity of communicating to them whatever they
‘ might have to say on such an occasion.

‘ This message I now make you acquainted with,
‘ that you may mention their departure from hence
‘ for

‘ for Chunar in the same light to the Begum. It
 ‘ possibly may have more effect than any restraint
 ‘ upon their palaces at Fyzabad; for if they would
 ‘ give one lack to have them returned to Fyzabad,
 ‘ they may possibly give the $6\frac{1}{2}$ to save them from a
 ‘ final separation.

‘ The precise terms upon which they offered the
 ‘ lack I do not clearly understand from your letter;
 ‘ whether they would give it merely to have their
 ‘ prison at Fyzabad instead of Lucknow, or whether
 ‘ any sort of enlargement is understood by it. In
 ‘ your future letters, when you mention the Begums,
 ‘ I shall be obliged to you to distinguish them by
 ‘ the appellation of the Bow Begum and the elder
 ‘ Begum; the first is the wife of Sujah ul Dowla,
 ‘ the latter his mother.

‘ I have, &c.

‘ Lucknow, ‘ (Signed) R. JOHNSON.’
 ‘ 9th July, 1782.

‘ To Richard Johnson, Esquire, Resident at the Court
 at Lucknow.

‘ Sir,

‘ Finding every effort to obtain the balance from
 ‘ the Bow Begum fruitless, I resolved on posting a
 ‘ Grenadier company at the gate of the elder Be-
 ‘ gum’s palace, agreeable to the tenor of your letter
 ‘ of the 4th instant, which I did on the 9th in the
 ‘ morning, but gave them no other orders than to
 ‘ maintain their post in case of any opposition, and
 ‘ not suffer armed men to enter the palace.

‘ About an hour after I had a message from the
 ‘ elder Begum, desiring me to go there, which I
 ‘ did immediately.

‘ I was conducted into a little room, some dis-
 ‘ tance from the house, where I stayed about six
 ‘ hours, endeavouring to adjust matters with the
 ‘ Cojahs [the conveyancers of our several messages]
 ‘ but returned without coming to any agreement.

‘ All

• Major

• Major Martin Gilpin, commanding at Fyzabad.

• Sir,

• I am honoured with your letter of the 11th. I
• have no objection to the Begum's proposals for
• liquidating her engagements, than that they are
• indefinite in period, and in some measure as to
• the means she is willing to declare in her posses-
• sion for the balance, and that there is no sort of
• hold or security for the performance, beyond what
• I have possessed these six months past in vain—her
• agreement, signed and sealed.

• I therefore request you will deliver her the fol-
• lowing answer:—That if promises or agreements,
• without other security, were of any value, the
• present trouble and vexation she submits to, and
• has brought upon herself, would have had no
• existence; of course, that before I can in any
• shape alter my plan of pressing, by every means
• in my power, the payment of the balance, she
• must produce some responsible security, which is
• always attainable by a deposit of the cash and
• goods in the hands of some trust-worthy Shroff,
• or other considerable person, who may thereby
• be induced to become responsible for the pay-
• ment.—

• This done to my satisfaction, and a time fixed
• for the final disposal, at profit or loss, of the goods,
• I am willing immediately to agree to and complete
• every other requisition which she has made through
• you.

• I before understood that the lack offered was in
• part payment of the balance; all I meant to ask,
• whether the Eunuchs were claimed to be enlarged
• upon it, or only to be returned prisoners to Fyza-
• bad? If the latter is the case, and that the elder
• Begum will pay one lack, and that at the same
• time their presence shall appear absolutely neces-
• sary to take out or dispose of the goods, &c. I
• will of course accept this lack, which upon this

• footing,

‘ footing, in a two-fold light, must accelerate the
‘ business.

‘ I suppose you have learnt nothing further of the
‘ effect upon the Bhow Begum, of the threat of send-
‘ ing the Eunuchs to Chunar.

‘ Lucknow, ‘ I have, &c.

‘ 17th July, 1782. ‘ (Signed) R. JOHNSON.’

‘ (*) To Richard Johnson, Esquire, Resident at the
‘ Court at Lucknow.

‘ Sir,

‘ On receipt of your letter, I sent to acquaint
‘ the Bhow Begum that you had agreed to the fe-
‘ veral articles proposed by her, and that I request-
‘ ed she would either make the deposits, pay the
‘ balance, or give the security you required for the
‘ same.

‘ In reply to which she told me she could do no-
‘ thing until the Cojahs were released, and the
‘ Jaghire returned to her:—I urged every argument
‘ in my power to get her to stand to the former
‘ agreement; but her final answer is, “ Release my
“ prisoners, and my Jaghire, and the six lacks and
“ a half shall be immediately paid.”

‘ From these circumstances, and being confirm-
‘ ed in opinion that she never would stand to any
‘ other agreement, I ordered (this morning) two
‘ companies of Sepoys to take post at the Begum’s
‘ gate, as before:—Lieutenant Crow, who com-
‘ manded the party, took post at the gate; but they
‘ presented at him, and told him they would fire if
‘ he advanced further:—Lieutenant Crow, seeing
‘ a very numerous body of armed men within the
‘ walls, advised me of it, and desired an immediate
‘ reinforcement; on which I ordered one gun, and

(*) This is one of the letters produced by the witnesses

‘ the whole of my second battalion to take post with
‘ Lieutenant Crow; which they did accordingly.

‘ The number of armed men in the elder Begum’s
‘ palace, and the city being also in arms, I made a
‘ requisition for one of Major Buchannon’s batta-
‘ lion (which crossed the Gogorah this morning) to
‘ reinforce the second battalion, which he readily
‘ complied with.

‘ Situation and circumstances (too tedious at pre-
‘ sent to relate) made it also necessary for Major
‘ Buchannon to march into the Fort with his other
‘ battalion, on account of the cash he had in the
‘ Rumnah, which might, in case of extremities,
‘ be lost.

‘ I have now to request your orders respecting my
‘ future proceedings, for I fear she never will agree
‘ to any other terms than as above.

‘ Should her forces attack the guards round the
‘ elder Begum’s palace, must I enter the same, and
‘ extirpate them to a man?

‘ In case she will not come to any alteration of
‘ terms, am I to withdraw the guard, or not?

‘ I shall keep possession of what I have until I
‘ hear from you, which I request may be as soon as
‘ possible; but if they do fire, we must enter the
‘ palace walls in self-defence, or give up the ob-
‘ ject, which I imagine you never will do.

‘ Both Begums agree to go out of the palace,
‘ and suffer the same to be searched by me, and to
‘ take whatever I may find towards the payment of
‘ the six lacks and a half. After searching one pa-
‘ lace, the same may be done by the Bhow Begum
‘ in the Fort: The proposal is fair, and might
‘ probably turn out advantageously.

‘ I am, Sir,

‘ Your most obedient,

‘ Fyzabad,

‘ humble servant,

‘ 21st July,

‘ MARTIN GILPIN,

‘ $\frac{1}{2}$ past 3 o’clock, P. M.

‘ Major Com^{dg.}

‘ 1782.

‘ To

‘ To Major Gilpin, commanding at Fyzabad.

‘ Sir,

‘ I am just honoured with a letter from you, without date, informing me that the Bhow Begum now demands the release of her Jaghire, and of the prisoners, as preliminaries to the final adjustment of the ready money balance due from her. Her altering her terms as soon as she perceived any appearance of smoothing her own proposals, proves the necessity of my caution in not trusting implicitly to her promises, and requiring some security for performance upon her behalf, previous to the accomplishment on my side of her claims. However, all negotiations seem now out of the question, by the present new demand of the previous release of her Jaghire: She and her agents made so bad a use of the power and force she possessed with the Jaghires during the late troubles, to the almost total subversion of the Nabob’s government, joined with so glaring an opposition to the English interest, that neither party can ever again consent to her being replaced in so dangerous a situation.

‘ This claim, therefore, is admissible in no extremity; independent of which the Jaghire is the only real security I possess for the certain collection, although in a dilatory mode, of the $6\frac{1}{2}$ lack due upon the ready money payment, and almost three lack and a half upon a separate order of five lacks, payable from the resumed jaghire, and the possession of the prisoners and palace are further securities.—Was I voluntarily to relinquish these, in exchange for some more papers or words of the Bhow Begum’s, I should most certainly throw the Company’s assignments into a risk that I could never answer; and it is very little short of certainty, that 10 lacks of the Company’s balance would by such proceeding be irrecoverably lost. To these

‘ preliminaries, therefore, I can by no means assent ;
 ‘ and if no ready money is to be procured from the
 ‘ Bhow Begum, or her agents, I must be satisfied to
 ‘ remain in possession of the palace, prisoners, and
 ‘ jaghire, and continue collecting by degrees that
 ‘ which cannot be more speedily acquired.

‘ With regard to threats of resistance, they must
 ‘ (as far as I may be able to judge at this distance)
 ‘ consist in mere shew ; if they did not think fit to
 ‘ resist when they had between 7 and 10,000 armed
 ‘ men assembled, and we not yet in possession of the
 ‘ palace and avenues, there is very little probability
 ‘ of their attempting it when we are in full occupa-
 ‘ tion of the town, fort, and every post in it, and
 ‘ no armed force on their side but what is within
 ‘ their garden walls, which certainly cannot be ma-
 ‘ ny, as it has been one constant object of the regi-
 ‘ ment, since its possession of the town, to prevent
 ‘ the accumulation of armed men in or near the
 ‘ town. In such a situation, it would be more than
 ‘ madness were they to attempt the attack of four
 ‘ battalions ; nor could the attack, if succeeded in,
 ‘ be of any benefit to them.

‘ The proposal of evacuating one place, and hav-
 ‘ ing it searched, and then evacuating the next upon
 ‘ the same principle, is apparently fair.—But it is
 ‘ well known, in the first place, that sunk, bricked
 ‘ up, or otherwise, hidden treasure is not to be hit
 ‘ upon in a day, without some guide. I have, there-
 ‘ fore, informed the Nabob of this proposal ; and, if
 ‘ the matter is to be reduced to a search, he will go
 ‘ himself with such people as he may possess for in-
 ‘ formation, together with the prisoners ; and when
 ‘ in possession of the ground, by punishing the pri-
 ‘ soners, or by such other means as he may find most
 ‘ effectual to forward a successful search upon the
 ‘ spot, he will avail himself of the proposal made
 ‘ by the Bhow Begum.

‘ In reply to the two questions you state, first,
 ‘ Should her forces attack the guard round the el-
 ‘ der

“ der Begum’s palace, must I enter and extirpate
 “ them to a man?” And secondly, “ If she will
 “ not come to any alteration of terms, am I to with-
 “ draw the guard or not?”

‘ To both these I need only observe, That the ob-
 ‘ ject of distressing the Bhow Begum, by a guard
 ‘ upon her palace gate, is merely to obtain a ready
 ‘ money payment from her of a balance due upon
 ‘ an accepted assignment of the Nabob’s upon his
 ‘ late father’s treasure. But this ready money, if not
 ‘ paid, is recoverable in the course of a few months
 ‘ upon the jaghire in my possession. It is therefore
 ‘ not worth proceeding to any extremities beyond
 ‘ the one described, upon so respectable a family.
 ‘ But in support of the order, if the servants of the
 ‘ Bhow Begum, or any other, attempt to drive off
 ‘ your guard, they must of course be supported in
 ‘ their stations, and the assailants punished, repelled,
 ‘ and pursued, if they take any road but the inner
 ‘ parts of the palace. These must remain sacred;
 ‘ and nothing can warrant any entrance into them
 ‘ while we are at peace with the Nabob Vizier, and
 ‘ only mean to enforce a speedy, instead of a dilatory
 ‘ payment. The assailants may entirely be repell-
 ‘ ed, and the post maintained without pursuing with-
 ‘ in the walls, unless the post is totally commanded
 ‘ by embrasures through a parapet behind the walls.
 ‘ In this case, and they avail themselves of their co-
 ‘ ver to fire upon the guard, it is adviseable to take
 ‘ a more distant and covered station, so as to distress
 ‘ access to and egress from the palace, which will
 ‘ answer every purpose required. I must repeat,
 ‘ that no extremity can warrant a forcible, or other
 ‘ entrance, into the palace, under the circumstances
 ‘ that cause the stationing a regiment at Fyzabad,
 ‘ which are merely to retain the fort, and to tease
 ‘ the Bhow Begum, if possible, into payment. And
 ‘ unless, after the above explanations, you deem the
 ‘ presence of the 23d regiment absolutely and indis-
 ‘ pensably necessary to support your guard, be pleas-
 ‘ ed,

‘ed, upon receipt of this, not to delay its march
‘into the provinces.

‘Lucknow, ‘I have, &c.
‘22 July, 1782. (Signed) ‘R. JOHNSON.’

‘(*) To Richard Johnson, Esquire, Resident at the
Court at Lucknow.

‘Sir,

‘The situation of affairs all day yesterday was
‘very precarious, so much so, that by the encrease
‘of troops in the city, I every moment expected
‘the serious scene to open.

‘The Bhow Begum sent no message all the day,
‘which confirmed me in opinion she meant an im-
‘mediate attack; and in consequence I was pre-
‘pared in every respect, and gave the necessary in-
‘structions to every post and party.

‘Early in the evening, the Bhow Begum sent to
‘request I would send my Commandant to her,
‘which I readily complied with, but told him to
‘tell her, “That assembling such a numerous force
‘in the town was needless; that I had given orders,
‘in case of a single shot from them, to enter the
‘palace, and put to death every man in arms; that
‘the Banarass massacre was still fresh in the minds
‘of the officers and sepoy; and that, notwithstand-
‘ing the orders I had given to spare women and
‘children, I could not expect much delicacy would
‘be observed, if once they entered; I therefore re-
‘commended her to consider the critical situation,
‘and come to terms.”

‘She gave me every assurance that she wished for
‘peace and quietness, but insinuated as much, that
‘she was not absolutely mistress of her own con-
‘duct: and I have reason to suppose the elder Be-
‘gum was very desirous and anxious to begin an

(*) This is one of the letters produced by the witness.

‘engage-

‘ engagement; nay, I am convinced, by various
‘ corroborating circumstances, that she was resolute-
‘ ly bent, and firmly resolved, to die as she had
‘ lived, in a rebellious blaze.

‘ However, about 12 o’clock at night the Bhow
‘ Begum agreed to give up every thing she had, to
‘ be disposed of for the payment of the balance
‘ due, but that she could not get at the jewels and
‘ other valuable goods, until the arrival of the pri-
‘ soners Bahar and Jewar Ally Cawn; that as soon
‘ as they arrived the things should be deposited.

‘ It is also, I believe, certain, that she never will
‘ agree to any other terms while she remains under
‘ the roof of the elder Begum.

‘ Finding it was absolutely impossible to keep
‘ much longer from a general engagement, and not
‘ having orders to storm the palace, or disarm the
‘ troops (which, by the bye, would have been a
‘ bloody scene) I accepted those terms, and with-
‘ drew the guards, at the request of the Begum;
‘ and I now wait your instructions and reply to my
‘ letter of the 21st.

‘ I have further to add, that she has confirmed the
‘ agreement by letter this morning, assuring me, be
‘ the consequences what they will, she has no other
‘ mode of payment; at the same time she expresses
‘ much satisfaction that this disagreeable business is
‘ so near adjusted.

‘ The twenty-third regiment has by this been de-
‘ tained only one day, as Major Buchannon could
‘ not possibly have marched before the twenty-fourth,
‘ he will now march from this the 25th.

‘ I have the honour to be,

‘ Sir,

‘ Your most obedient,

‘ humble servant,

‘ MARTIN GILPIN,

‘ Major Commanding.’

‘ Fyzabad,
‘ 23d July, 1782.

‘ To

* To Major Martin Gilpin, commanding at Fyzabad.

‘ Sir,

‘ I am honoured with your letter of the 23d, and
 ‘ am much concerned that you did not wait the an-
 ‘ swer to your first letter, before you withdrew the
 ‘ restraint placed upon the Begum, with so success-
 ‘ ful an appearance. You promised in your letter
 ‘ of the 21st to hold what you had got, and to re-
 ‘ main as you were; had you abided by this engage-
 ‘ ment, you would have found, by my subsequent
 ‘ private letter, written the day after my reply to
 ‘ your express of the 21st, the certain success of the
 ‘ plan which now is thrown further back than ever;
 ‘ for, if I understand your last, an unlimited amount
 ‘ are to be delivered up, with a positive agreement
 ‘ to release the prisoners; whereas, before this last
 ‘ effort on our side (in which I do not learn that
 ‘ the same station was occupied that was possessed
 ‘ on the first restraint upon the palace gate) the el-
 ‘ der Begum offered one lack in part payment, for
 ‘ only transferring the prisoners; and afterwards,
 ‘ upon surrounding the palace, the Bhow Begum
 ‘ offered one half of the money down, and the re-
 ‘ mainder in goods (much preferable to the present
 ‘ offer) which was refused, because she would give
 ‘ no security for the performance of her offer,
 ‘ to obtain which you placed the second restraint;
 ‘ and have now withdrawn them upon less favourable
 ‘ terms, and what we possessed in hand from the
 ‘ result of the first restraint, and this at a time when
 ‘ you had double the force, one half of which might
 ‘ have scoured the town of any armed force it could
 ‘ contain, while the remainder could scarcely fail of
 ‘ maintaining its post uninterruptedly round the
 ‘ palace. From the steps of compliance immedi-
 ‘ ately adopted by the Begum in her overtures to
 ‘ the Shroffs at Lucknow, it is self-evident (in ad-
 ‘ dition to the conviction of her ability, and other
 ‘ arguments

arguments hazarded in my last) that she could
 never mean to attempt an attack upon your post.
 —But, dropping all useless discussion upon what
 is past, and of course remediless, I must apply to
 her offer through you, upon which you have now
 withdrawn the guard; it is this, That if I refused
 the former advantageous tenders for want of some
 security, I still more positively reject this, which
 is neither so advantageous, and equally unaccom-
 panied with the least shadow of security, and bur-
 thened with a demand of releasing her agents as
 soon as what she may chuse to deposit shall be de-
 clared. This, as the Begum has dropped her first
 terms, I now refuse to agree to, as I ought to have
 done then, when proposed as a condition upon the
 payment: I always said, that if through their
 means the Company's balance could be liquidated,
 it would give me an opening to recommend them
 to lenity, and an easy discharge from the crimes
 they stand accused of; but to stipulate such an ex-
 change, would be indecent on my behalf, a cir-
 cumstance I had not before sufficiently weighed,
 but which I have now an opportunity to establish.
 Upon the whole, therefore, the following is the
 only line for you to follow now: First, to prohibit
 throughout the town any armed men appearing in
 the streets; and after due notice given, to order
 constant patrols to execute it, and in case the re-
 gulation is not speedily and strictly obeyed, to
 make example of the first offenders; next to esta-
 blish such posts, at such distances, as you shall
 deem practicable and tenable to a certainty, round
 the palace, through which whoever shall please
 may pass from the palace, but none return within
 it. Thus gradually, once more, for a third time,
 re-establishing the first restraint, and remaining in
 that position, whatever may be the result of it
 (unless that if immediate full payment or full se-
 curity, without restrictions and stipulations on our
 side) until the guards shall be ordered off. My
 motive for subscribing this slow and quiet method

‘ is founded merely upon your information of the
 ‘ violent intention of the elder Begum, which she
 ‘ will have no opportunity of carrying far by this
 ‘ mode, as the forces within the palace cannot, or
 ‘ ought not, to be considerable, for the reasons as-
 ‘ signed in my last, founded upon the necessary pre-
 ‘ cautions, that I cannot doubt has been observed to
 ‘ prevent armed men going into the palace.

‘ I shall have no objections to transfer the con-
 ‘ finement of the prisoners to your camp at Fyzabad,
 ‘ when the Begum may return to any terms that can
 ‘ be accepted, as I know their presence there may
 ‘ be of use, although I also know that their being
 ‘ here is great subject of alarm to the Bhow Begum.

‘ But I repeat, that should you again be able to
 ‘ re-establish yourself, as I hope, without any strug-
 ‘ gle, which you must see, from this and my last,
 ‘ how much I wish to avoid, that you upon no ac-
 ‘ count withdraw until the proposals shall have been
 ‘ referred, and time given for an answer from hence,
 ‘ unless in the case of full unconditional submission
 ‘ and compliance from the Begum.

‘ It is not rational to suppose that she will long
 ‘ submit to troublesome restraint, possessing the
 ‘ means, as I know she does, for releasing herself; I
 ‘ therefore place great reliance upon the effect of
 ‘ your fulfilling the spirit of these directions. The
 ‘ letter must depend upon circumstances, and your
 ‘ own discretion.

‘ I have, &c.

‘ Lucknow, ‘ (Signed) R. JOHNSON.
 ‘ 25th July, 1782.

‘ (*) To Richard Johnson, Esq; Resident at Lucknow.

‘ Dear Sir,

‘ I have to acknowledge the receipt of your let-
 ‘ ter of the 31st ulto, which makes it requisite for

(*) This is one of the letters produced by the witness.

‘ me

‘ me to point out clearly to you the impracticability
 ‘ of maintaining the post at the elder Begum’s gate,
 ‘ in the mode you prescribe in your letter of the
 ‘ 22d ult°.

‘ The elder Begum had assembled not less than
 ‘ four thousand men in the city, besides the whole
 ‘ country was in motion to her assistance. With
 ‘ such a force was it possible for the detachment to
 ‘ maintain the post at the gate, if they were not
 ‘ suffered to enter the same when fired upon, and
 ‘ put the whole to death?

‘ Can it be supposed that officers and men will
 ‘ stand tamely in a street when fired on, through
 ‘ windows, doors, loopholes, &c. &c. which sur-
 ‘ round and command them, without exerting every
 ‘ ability to destroy that secreted enemy? and can it
 ‘ also be supposed that when fired upon, they will
 ‘ shamefully retreat, under the scandalous appellation
 ‘ of cowardly fellows? Epithets that might have
 ‘ been too justly applied by the Begum’s people,
 ‘ had the attempt been made, and God forbid that
 ‘ I shall ever live to hear so scandalous a reflection
 ‘ thrown out on the corps I command.—I have had
 ‘ the honour to serve my king and country near
 ‘ twenty-four years, with the constant approbation
 ‘ of my superiors; and can it be supposed, after such
 ‘ a length of service, that I wanted wantonly to throw
 ‘ away a reputation I have so long laboured to ob-
 ‘ tain? which must inevitably have been the case in
 ‘ the eyes of every military man, had the detach-
 ‘ ment been ordered by me to retire to a more dis-
 ‘ tant post when fired upon, as you prescribe?—
 ‘ What did the Governor General say of the attack
 ‘ of Ramnagur, by the late Captain Mayaffre? and
 ‘ did not the whole world condemn Lieutenants
 ‘ Stalkers, Scott and Symes, for not putting Cheyt
 ‘ Sing to instant death when the attack was made on
 ‘ the guard?

‘ These were circumstances that required due at-
 ‘ tention on my part, and I do assure you, it did not

‘ appear possible to have continued that guard an
 ‘ hour longer without an attack from them, the con-
 ‘ sequence of which would, in all probability, have
 ‘ been a more serious rebellion than that of Cheyt
 ‘ Sing’s was, yet not in any respect fatal to this de-
 ‘ tachment, for the orders I had given almost en-
 ‘ sured success, in case of an attack.

‘ Situation and circumstances (visible to every per-
 ‘ son here) made it requisite to withdraw the guard
 ‘ the moment the Begum requested it, unless my or-
 ‘ ders for extirpating every man in arms had been
 ‘ clear and positive, and which, from the tenor of
 ‘ your letter, I never could expect to receive, as you
 ‘ say, “it is not worth proceeding to extremities
 ‘ with so respectable a family, &c.”—I am very
 ‘ happy, the thirty-third regiment was here, and
 ‘ particularly so, that Major Buchannon command-
 ‘ ing it, whose length of service and steady conduct
 ‘ has met with general applause—his sentiments and
 ‘ mine coincided in every particular.

‘ I have now to answer your letter of the 31st,
 ‘ wherein you disapprove of my withdrawing the
 ‘ guard; a circumstance that you imagine has caused
 ‘ the total failure of this business.—In reply to
 ‘ which, give me leave to observe, that the only
 ‘ mode of paying the balance, without going to ex-
 ‘ tremities, is, in my humble opinion, by that agree-
 ‘ ment to all appearance made permanent.

‘ She has promised, in the most sacred manner,
 ‘ to deliver up the cash, jewels, &c. that she has in
 ‘ her possession to make good the same.

‘ Should she not stand to this agreement, my
 ‘ promise to her of visiting the elder Begum is
 ‘ void, and she of course becomes a state prisoner in
 ‘ the fort, where every restraint that may be judged
 ‘ requisite can be more easily enforced, than if she
 ‘ was at the elder Begum’s in the city. I have now
 ‘ to request, since you have disapproved of the
 ‘ agreement which appeared to me the most eligible
 ‘ and secure, that you will draw up the terms which

‘ are

' are to be accepted of, and every exertion in my
' power shall be made to obtain them.

' I am, dear Sir,

' Fyzabad, ' Your obedient humble servant,
' 2d August, 1782. ' (Signed) M. GILPIN.'

' To Nathl Middleton, Esquire.

' Sir,

' I have the pleasure to enclose you ten bills of
' exchange on the bankers at Lucknow, amounting
' to fifty thousand rupees, on account of the ba-
' lance due from the Bhow Begum, which I re-
' ceived from the prisoners Bahar and Jewar Ally
' Cawn.

' Hoolafs Roy is of opinion, that the goods which
' I have received from the Bhow Begum are well
' worth four lacks of rupees, even allowing that
' they sell greatly under their value.

' The goods were to have left Fyzabad to-day,
' but owing to a continued rain, I have delayed them
' until choppers can be made for the hackeries.

' I have had a paper war with the Elder Begum
' these two days; she did promise to lend one lack
' to be paid to me, how far I shall be able to suc-
' ceed I cannot yet say; however, I am hopeful,
' even without her assistance, that I shall get all
' together between five and six lacks on account of
' this balance.

' I am under promise to the Begum of visiting
' Lucknow with such propofals, that will, I hope,
' ensure the small balance that may remain, although
' the Elder Begum should not assist.

' I have the honour to be,

' Fyzabad,

' Sir,

' 5th Sept. 1782. ' Your most obedt humble servant,
' (Signed) MARTIN GILPIN,
' Major Commanding.'

' To

‘ To Major Martin Gilpin, commanding at Fyzabad.

‘ Sir,

‘ I am honoured with your letter of the 15th.
 ‘ As it is not possible I can listen to any terms for
 ‘ the Begums before the final discharge of their
 ‘ conditional agreement for 55 lacks, your coming
 ‘ here upon such an agency can only be loss of
 ‘ time in compleating the recovery of the balance
 ‘ of 6,55,000, for which your regiment was sent to
 ‘ Fyzabad; I must therefore desire you will leave
 ‘ no efforts, gentle or harsh, unattempted to com-
 ‘ plete this before you move from Fyzabad; and I
 ‘ am very anxious that this should be as soon as
 ‘ possible, as I want to employ your regiment upon
 ‘ other emergent service, now suffering by every
 ‘ delay.

‘ Lucknow,

‘ I have, &c.

‘ 17th Sept. 1782. ‘ (Signed) N. MIDDLETON.’

‘ Nathaniel Middleton, Esq; Resident at the Court
 ‘ at Lucknow.

‘ Sir,

‘ Imperfect health for some time past, with a
 ‘ feverish complaint, and violent head aches, en-
 ‘ creasing rather too fast, made it absolutely necessary
 ‘ for me to quit the unwholesome air of Fyzabad
 ‘ many days sooner than I either intended or was
 ‘ prepared for, as a change of air and medical
 ‘ assistance was now become necessary.

‘ I had the pleasure to receive your letter of the
 ‘ 17th, since my arrival here, the dauk having
 ‘ missed me on the road. I have to assure you there
 ‘ will

' will be no time lost by my journey to Lucknow,
 ' for I fancy the balance that may remain, after the
 ' sales of the effects, will not be a subject matter to
 ' detain the regiment from the active service you
 ' propose for it; and my presence, on this occasion,
 ' is also requisite at Lucknow, to provide the ne-
 ' cessary stores for a campaign. My stay at Luck-
 ' now will be very short, if my health will admit
 ' of an immediate return; it is a place I have
 ' neither inclination to visit, or business to delay
 ' me long at.

' I have the honour to be,

' Deriabad,

' Sir,

' Sept. 20th, 1782.

' Your most obed^t humble servant,

' (Signed) MARTIN GILPIN.'

' N. B. Lieut. Brown, with the effects, marched
 ' from Fyzabad the 17th, and I hope he will
 ' arrive with you by the 20th or 21st.'

' To Nathaniel Middleton, Esq; Resident at the
 ' Court at Lucknow.

' Sir,

' The enclosed letter from the Bhow Begum, is
 ' in reply to your's which I delivered on my return
 ' to this place.

' She observes to me, that her situation is truly
 ' pitiable, her estate sequestered, her treasury ran-
 ' sacked, her cojahs prisoners, and her servants de-
 ' serting daily from her for want of subsistence.
 ' That she has solicited the loan of money to satisfy
 ' the demands of the Company from every person
 ' that she imagined would or could assist her with
 ' any: but the opulent will not listen to her adver-
 ' sity. She did hope the wardrobe that was sent to
 ' Lucknow might have sold for at least one half of
 ' the

the Company's demands on her : but even jewelry and goods, she finds (from woeful experience) loses its value the moment it is known they came from her.

That she has now solicited the loan of cash from Almas's Ally Cawn; and if she fails in this application, she has no hopes of even borrowing a sum equal to the demand.

She thanks you kindly for your friendship towards her; and hopes you will lay the copies of those original letters, which I gave you to read, before the Honourable the Governor General and Supreme Council, to convince them that the information they received respecting any rebellious principles on her part, at the time of Cheyt Sing's, was wicked, and without foundation.

The above, Sir, is the substance of conversation, on her part, to the urging arguments which I have used to obtain the balance.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Camp at Fyzabad,

19th October, 1782.

Your most obedient

humble servant,

(Signed) MARTIN GILPIN,
Major Commanding.

To

To John Bristow, Esquire, Resident at his Excellency
the Naboo Vizier's Court.

Sir,

At the request of the Bhow Begum, I have the
honour to inclose you her letter of congratulation on
your appointment to, and arrival at, his Excellency
the Nabob Vizier's Court:—a circumstance that has
given her real satisfaction; and she hopes, from your
former friendship, to engage your interest, and ob-
tain the jaghire taken from her last year.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

(Signed)

MARTIN GILPIN,

Camp at Fyzabad,

Major Commanding.

27th October 1782.

From her Excellency the Bow Begum to Mr. Bristow,
Resident at the Vizier's Court.

There is no necessity to write to you, by way of
information, a detail of my sufferings; from com-
mon report, and the intelligence of those who are
about you, the account of them will have reached
your ears, I will here relate a part of them.

After the death of Sujah Dowlah, most of his
ungrateful servants were constantly labouring to gra-
tify their enmity; but, finding from the firm and
sincere friendship which subsisted between me and the
English, that the accomplishment of their purposes
was frustrated, they formed the design of occasioning
a breach in that alliance, to ensure their own success;
I must acquaint you that my son, Asof ul Dowlah,
had formerly threatened to seize my jaghire, but
upon producing the treaty signed by you, and shew-
ing it to Mr. Middleton, he interfered, and pre-
vented the impending evil.—The conspirators now
framed an accusation against me, of a conduct which
I never had conceived, even in idea, of rendering
assistance to Raja Chait Sing. The particulars are
as follows:—My son, Asof ul Dowlah, and his Mi-
nisters, with troops, and a train of artillery, accom-
panied

' panied by Mr. Middleton, of the 16th of the month
 ' of Mohurum, arrived at Fyzabad, and made a de-
 ' mand of a crore of rupees ; as my inability to pay
 ' so vast a sum was manifest, I produced the treaty
 ' you signed and gave me, but to no effect, their hearts
 ' were determined upon violence ; I offered my son
 ' Asof ul Dowlah, whose will is dearer to me than all
 ' my riches, or even life itself, whatever money and
 ' goods I was possessed, but an amicable adjustment
 ' seemed not worth accepting. He demanded the
 ' delivering up the fort, and the recall of the troops
 ' that were stationed for the preserving the peace of
 ' the city. To me tumult and discord appeared un-
 ' necessary : I gave up these points ; upon which they
 ' seized my head eunuchs, Jewar Ally Cawn, and Ba-
 ' har Ally Cawn, and sent them to Mr. Middleton ;
 ' after having obliged them to sign a bond for sixty
 ' lacks of rupees, they were thrown into prison, with
 ' fetters about their feet, and denied food and water.
 ' I who had never, even in my dreams, experienced
 ' such an oppression, gave up all I had to preserve
 ' my honour and dignity : but this would not satisfy
 ' their demands ; they charged me with a rupee and
 ' a half batta upon each mohur, and on this account
 ' laid claims upon me to the amount of six lacks some
 ' thousand rupees, and sent Major Gilpin to exact the
 ' payment ; Major Gilpin, according to orders, at first
 ' was importunate ; but being a man of experience,
 ' and of a benevolent disposition, when he was con-
 ' vinced of my want of means, he changed his con-
 ' duct, and was willing to apply to the shroffs and
 ' bankers to lend me the money ; but with the loss of
 ' my jaghire my credit was sunk—I could not raise the
 ' sum : at last, feeling my helpless situation, I col-
 ' lected my wardrobe and furniture, to the amount of
 ' about three lacks of rupees, besides fifty thousand
 ' rupees, which I borrowed from one place or other,
 ' and sent Major Gilpin with it to Lucknow. My
 ' sufferings did not terminate here. The disturbances
 ' of Colonel Hannay and Mr. Gordon were made a
 ' pretence for seizing my jaghire. The state of the
 ' matter

* matter is thus : When Colonel Hannay was by Mr.
 * Hastings ordered to march to Benares, during the
 * troubles of Cheyt Sing, the Colonel, who had plun-
 * dered the whole country, was incapable of proceed-
 * ing; from the union of thousands of Zemindars,
 * who had seized this favourable opportunity, they
 * harassed Mr. Gordon near Junivarra, and the Ze-
 * mindars of that place and Acberpore opposed his
 * march from thence, till he arrived near Tanda. As
 * the Tanda Nulla, from its overflowing, was difficult
 * to cross without a boat, Mr. Gordon sent to the
 * Fouzdar to supply him. He replied, the boats
 * were all in the river, but would, according to orders,
 * assist him as soon as possible. Mr. Gordon's situa-
 * tion would not admit of his waiting; he forded the
 * Nulla upon his elephant, and was hospitably enter-
 * tained and protected by the Fouzdar for six days.
 * In the mean time a letter was received by me from
 * Colonel Hannay, desiring me to escort Mr. Gordon
 * to Fyzabad. As my friendship for the English was
 * always sincere, I readily complied, and sent some
 * companies of Nejeebs to escort Mr. Gordon and
 * all his effects to Fyzabad, where, having provided
 * for his entertainment, I effected his junction with
 * Colonel Hannay. The letters of thanks I received
 * from both these gentlemen, upon this occasion, are
 * still in my possession; copies of which I gave in
 * charge to Major Gilpin, to be delivered to Mr. Mid-
 * dleton, that he might forward them to the Governor
 * General. To be brief, those who have loaded me
 * with accusations are now clearly convicted of false-
 * hood: but is not it extraordinary, that, notwith-
 * standing the justness of my cause, that nobody re-
 * lieves my misfortune.—Why did Major Gilpin re-
 * turn without effect?

* My prayers have been constantly offered to
 * Heaven for your arrival; report has announced it,
 * for which reason I have taken up the pen, and re-
 * quest you will not place implicit confidence in my
 * accusers; but weighing in the scale of justice their
 * falsehoods and my representations, you will exert

‘ your influence in putting a period to the misfortunes
‘ with which I am overwhelmed.’

‘ Copy of a Letter from Colonel Hannay to Jewar Ally
‘ Cawn and Bahar Ally Cawn.

‘ I had the pleasure to receive your friendly letter,
‘ fraught with benevolence; and whatever favours
‘ you, my friends, have been pleased to confer re-
‘ specting Mr. Gordon, afforded me the greatest plea-
‘ sure.

‘ Placing a firm reliance on your friendship, I am
‘ in expectation that the aforesaid Gentleman, with his
‘ baggage, will arrive at Fyzabad in safety, that the
‘ same may oblige and afford satisfaction to me.

‘ A letter from Mr. Gordon is enclosed to you; I
‘ am in expectation of it being inclosed in a cover to
‘ the Aumil of Taunda, to the end that the Aumil
‘ may forward it to the above-mentioned Gentleman,
‘ and procure his reply. Whenever the answer ar-
‘ rives, let it be delivered to Hoolass Roy, who will
‘ forward it to me.

‘ Always rejoyce me by a few lines respecting your
‘ health; continue to honour me with your corre-
‘ spondence.’

‘ Copy of a Letter from Colonel Hannay to Jewar and
‘ Behar Ally Cawn.

‘ Cawn Saib, my indulgent friends, remain under
‘ the protection of God.

‘ Your friendly letter, fraught with kindness, ac-
‘ companied by an honorary letter from the Begum
‘ Saib, of exalted dignity, and enclosed a letter from
‘ Mr. Gordon, sent through your Hircarrahs, obliged
‘ and rejoyced me.

‘ With respect to what you communicate regarding
‘ your not having received an answer to your friendly
‘ epistle, I became perfectly astonished, as a reply was
‘ written from Mohdeu. It may be owing to the
‘ danger of the road that it never arrived, not to the
‘ smallest neglect on my side (or of mine).

‘ I now send two letters in answer to yours, one by
‘ the

‘ the Dauk people, and the second by one of my Hircarrahs (who will present them to you) which you certainly will receive.

‘ I am extremely well contented and pleased with the friendship you have shewn.

‘ You wrote me to remain perfectly easy concerning Mr. Gordon; verily, from the kindness of you, my indulgent friends, my heart is quite easy. You also observed and mentioned, that as Mr. Gordon’s coming, with those attached to him (probably his Sepoys and others) might be attended with difficulty, if I approved he should be invited alone to Fyzabad: my friends, I place my expectation entirely upon your friendships, and leave it to you to adopt the manner in which the said Gentleman may arrive in security, without molestation, at Fyzabad; but at the same time let the plan be so managed, that it may not come to the knowledge of any Zemindars; in this case you are men of discernment. However he is come to Fyzabad, extend your assistances and endeavours.

‘ It is probable that the Begum Saib, of high dignity, has received intelligence from the camp at Benares. Favour me with the contents or purport.

‘ From Mr. Gordon’s letter, I understand that Mirza Imaum Balish, whom you dispatched thither [Taunda] has and still continues to pay great attention to that Gentleman, which affords me great pleasure.

‘ An answer to the Begum’s letter is enclosed; oblige me by causing it to be presented. I also send a letter for Mr. Gordon, which please to forward.’

‘ An Address from Colonel Hannay to the Begum.

‘ Begum Saib, of exalted dignity and generosity, &c. whom God preserve, &c.

‘ Your exalting letter, fraught with grace and benevolence, that, through your unbounded generosity and goodness, was sent through grace and favour,

' your, I had the honour to receive in a fortunate mo-
 ' ment; and whatever you were pleased to write re-
 ' specting Mr. Gordon, that at this time the short-
 ' sighted and deluded Riots had carried their distur-
 ' bances, and ravaged beyond all bounds, Mr. Gor-
 ' don's coming with his whole people (or adherents)
 ' might be attended with difficulty; and therefore, if
 ' I chose, he should be invited to come alone. Now,
 ' as your Highness is the best judge, your faithful
 ' servant reposeth his most unbounded hopes and ex-
 ' pectations upon your Highness, that the aforesaid Mr.
 ' Gordon may arrive at Fyzabad without any (appre-
 ' hension or) danger, I shall be then extremely ho-
 ' noured and obliged.

' Considering me in the light of a firm and faith-
 ' ful servant, continue to honour and exalt me by
 ' your letters.

' What further can I say?'

' A copy of an address from Mr. Gordon to the Begum.

' Begum Saib, of exalted dignity and generosity,
 ' whom God preserve.

' After presenting the usual professions of servi-
 ' tude, &c. in the customary manner, my address is
 ' permitted.

' Your gracious letter, in answer to the petition of
 ' your servants from Goondah, exalted me—From
 ' the contents, I became unspeakably impressed with
 ' the honour it conferred. May the Almighty pro-
 ' tect that royal purity, and bestow happiness, increase
 ' of wealth, and prosperity!

' The welfare of your servant is entirely owing to
 ' your favour and benevolence.

' A few days have elapsed since I arrived at Goon-
 ' dah with the Colonel Saib.

' This is presented for your Highness's information.
 ' I cherish hopes from your generosity, that, consi-
 ' dering me in the light of one of your servants, al-
 ' ways continue to exalt and honour me with your
 ' gracious letters.

' May the sun of prosperity continually shine!"

' Copy

‘ Copy of a letter to Mahumed Jewar Ally Cawn and
‘ Bahar Ally Cawn, from Mr. Gordon.

‘ Sirs, my indulgent friends, remain under, &c. &c.

‘ After compliments. I have the pleasure to ac-
‘ quaint you, that yesterday, having taken leave of
‘ you, I passed the night at Moorgunge, and next
‘ morning, about ten or eleven o’clock, through your
‘ favour and benevolence, arrived safe at Goonda—
‘ Meer Aboo Buksh, Zemindar, and Meer Rustum
‘ Ally, accompanied me.

‘ To what extent can I prolong the praises of you,
‘ my beneficent friends? May the Supreme Being,
‘ for this benign, compassionate, humane action, have
‘ you in his keeping, and increase your prosperity,
‘ and speedily grant me the pleasure of an inter-
‘ view! until which time continue to favour me
‘ with friendly letters, and oblige me by any com-
‘ mands in my power to execute.

‘ May your wishes be ever crowned with success!

‘ My compliments, &c. &c. &c.’

‘ Copy of a Letter from Colonel Hannay to Jewar
‘ Ally Cawn and Bahar Ally Cawn.

‘ Cawn Saib, my indulgent friends, remain under
‘ the protection of the Supreme Being.

‘ After compliments, and signifying my earnest
‘ desire of an interview, I address you.

‘ Your friendly letter, fraught with kindness, I had
‘ the pleasure to receive in a prosperous hour; and
‘ your inexpressible kindness, in sending for Meer
‘ Naffar Ally with a force to Taunda, for the pur-
‘ pose of conducting Mr. Gordon with all his bag-
‘ gage, who is now arrived at Fyzabad.

‘ This event has afforded me the most excessive
‘ pleasure and satisfaction. May the Omnipotent
‘ preserve you, my steadfast firm friends!

‘ The pen of friendship itself cannot sufficiently
‘ express your generosity and benevolence, and that
‘ of the Begum of high dignity, who so graciously
‘ has interested herself in this matter. Inclosed is an
‘ address for her, which please to forward. I hope,
‘ from .

‘ from your friendship, until we meet you will continue to honour me with an account of your health and welfare.

‘ What further can I write ?’

‘ To John Bristow, Esquire, Resident at the Court at Lucknow.

‘ Sir,

‘ Last night, about eight o’clock; the women in the Khouird Mahl Zenana, under the charge of Lettaffut Ally Cawn, assembled on the tops of the buildings, crying in a most lamentable manner for food; that for the last four days they had got but a very scanty allowance, and that yesterday they had got none.

‘ The melancholy cries of famine are more easily imagined than described, and from their representations I fear the Nabob’s Agents for that business are very inattentive; I therefore think it requisite to make you acquainted with the circumstance, that his Excellency the Nabob may cause his Agents to be more circumspect in their conduct towards these poor unhappy women.

‘ I have the honour to be,

‘ Sir,

‘ Your most obed^t humble serv^t,

‘ Fyzabad, ‘ (Signed) MARTIN GILPIN,
‘ 30th Octob^r 1782. Major Comm^{rs}.

‘ To Major Martin Gilpin, commanding at Fyzabad.

‘ Sir,

‘ I have received your letters of the 12th, 19th, 27th, and 30th ultimo.

‘ I communicated the contents of that of the 30th to the Minister, who promised me to issue orders for the payment of a sum of money to relieve the distress of the Khouird Mahl. I shall also forward a bill for ten thousand rupees to you, in the course of three or four days; and if in the mean time you may find means to supply to the amount of that sum, I will become personally responsible to you for the repayment.
‘ I shall

‘ I shall answer the Begum’s letter, when I may be
 ‘ able to speak with any certainty on the points relative
 ‘ to which she writes me. I hope to this also, in the
 ‘ course of three or four days, and request you will make
 ‘ my respects, and inform her of my intentions.

‘ You will continue to act conformable to any in-
 ‘ structions occasionally transmitted to you by Mr. Mid-
 ‘ dleton and Mr. Johnson.

‘ I have the honour to be,

‘ Sir,

‘ Yours, &c.

‘ Lucknow, (Signed) JOHN BRISTOW,
 ‘ 4th Novem^r 1782. ‘ Res^t at the Vizier’s Court.’

‘ To John Bristow, Esquire, Resident at the Court at
 Lucknow.

‘ Sir,

‘ The repeated cries of the women in the Khood
 ‘ Mahl Zenana, for subsistence, has been truly melan-
 ‘ choly.

‘ They beg most piteously for liberty, that they may
 ‘ earn their daily bread by laborious servitude, or to be
 ‘ relieved from their misery by immediate death.

‘ In consequence of their unhappy situation, I have
 ‘ this day taken the liberty of drawing on you in favour
 ‘ of Ramnarian, at ten days sight, for twenty son Ke-
 ‘ rah rupees; ten thousand which I have paid to Co-
 ‘ jah Latafat Ally Cawn, under whose charge that Ze-
 ‘ nana is.

‘ I have the honour to be,

‘ Sir,

‘ Your most obed^t humble serv^t,

‘ Camp at Fyzabad, (Signed) MARTIN GILPIN,
 ‘ 15 Novem^r 1782. ‘ Major Command^g.’

‘ To John Bristow, Esquire, Resident at the Court at
 Lucknow.

‘ Sir,

‘ Before my return to Fyzabad, the Bhow Begum
 ‘ had replied to his Excellency the Nabob Vizier’s
 K letter,

letter, the contents of which I imagine he would communicate to you.

The elder Begum I understand (from report only) never intends to put pen to paper to him again.

What probability there may now be of ever receiving the balance from the Begum, you, from her letter to the Nabob, will be best able to judge; but I am clearly of opinion, that whilst her eunuchs, Behar and Jewar Ally Cawn, remain prisoners, and the battalions continue here with any restraint on her, that she never will agree to pay a further sum on the score required; and indeed it appears to me only recoverable by moderate means. If the prisoners were released, and the troops withdrawn from her, I fancy she would, in a short period, enter into a negotiation with you; and on certain terms be induced to pay the sum wanted.

Enclosed I send you the copy of a letter which I received this morning from her. The circumstances of her servants quitting her for want of subsistence is very certain and public; and whether real or fictitious, I will not take upon me to determine; but I judge it necessary to make you acquainted with the circumstance.

I have the honour to be, &c.

Fyzabad, (Signed) MARTIN GILPIN,
18 Nov^r 1782. Major Commands.

To Major Martin Gilpin, commanding at Fyzabad.

Sir,

I do myself the pleasure to enclose you a duplicate of a letter that will be delivered to you by Affrien Ally Cawn. As it may be some days before he will arrive at Fyzabad, and the enlargement of the Begum's eunuchs has been resolved upon, it appears necessary that it should be delayed; you will therefore immediately release Behar Ally Cawn and Jewar Ally Cawn, for whom, and the Begum, I shall send you letters by to-morrow night's Dawk.

You will, in the mean time, continue your solicitation for the balance due to the Vizier; and should
you

‘ you receive any money on this account, transmit it
‘ under a proper escort to Lucknow.

‘ I am happy to inform you, that the Begum is
‘ highly pleased with your treatment of herself and eu-
‘ nuchs; and I shall not fail, in my letter, to express
‘ the sense I entertain of your conduct.

‘ Lucknow, (Signed) JOHN BRISTOW.
‘ the 2d Decem^r 1782.

‘ Major Martin Gilpin, commanding at Fyzabad.

‘ Sir,

‘ I received your letters of the 15th and 18th ulti-
‘ mo.

‘ The Vizier having thought proper to express his
‘ pleasure, that the Begum should be relieved from the
‘ restraints under which her servants have been laid, I
‘ notify the same to you, and inform you, there is no
‘ further occasion for the services of the troops under
‘ your command stationed at Fyzabad.

‘ Previous to your departure, you will deliver over
‘ charge of the fort of Fyzabad to Auffreen Ally
‘ Cawn, or such person as he may appoint to receive
‘ it, and to whom you will also explain any other mat-
‘ ters necessary for his information. You will release
‘ the Begum’s eunuchs, Behar Ally Cawn and Jewar
‘ Ally Cawn, from confinement, and you will deliver
‘ the artillery, ammunition and stores under your
‘ charge, belonging to the Vizier, to Lullmun Shogul,
‘ the Aumil of Gonda, or the Agent or Agents he may
‘ appoint.

‘ You will oblige me by the communication of any
‘ particulars relative to the transactions at Fyzabad,
‘ which you think will enable the Vizier to effect the
‘ recovery of the balance still remaining due on ac-
‘ count of the Begum’s engagement.

‘ Permit me to convey to you his Excellency’s sa-
‘ tisfaction at your conduct in the discharge of your
‘ duty at Fyzabad.

(Signed) JOHN BRISTOW.
‘ Lucknow,
‘ the 2d Decem^r 1782.

‘ To John Bristow, Esquire, Resident at the Court at Lucknow.

‘ Sir,

‘ I have to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 2d instant, and in consequence immediately enlarged the prisoners Behar Ally Cawn and Jewar Ally Cawn from their confinement—a circumstance that gave the Begums and the city of Fyzabad in general the greatest satisfaction.

‘ In tears of joy, Behar Ally Cawn and Jewar Ally Cawn expressed their sincere acknowledgments to the Governor General, his Excellency the Nabob Vizier, and to you, Sir, for restoring them to that invaluable blessing, liberty, for which they would ever retain the most grateful remembrance; and at their request I transmit you the enclosed letters.

‘ I have the honour to be,

‘ Sir,

‘ Your most obedient humble servant,

‘ Fyzabad, (Signed) MARTIN GILPIN,
‘ 5 Decem^r 1782. ‘ Major Command^s.

‘ Copy of a letter from Major Gilpin to Mr. Bristow.

‘ Dear Sir,

‘ I wish you had been present at the enlargement of the prisoners. The quivering lips, with the tears of joy stealing down the poor men’s cheeks, was a scene truly affecting; and, as Tristram Shandy justly observes, fit only for a sentimental traveller.

‘ If the prayers of these poor men will avail, you will, at the last trump, be translated to the happiest regions in heaven.

‘ I am, &c.

‘ Fyzabad, (Signed) M. GILPIN.
‘ 5 Decem^r 1782.

NATHANIEL MIDDLETON, Esquire, called in, and examined.

When was you first appointed to the Residency of Oude?

The beginning of 1777.

When

When was you recalled to the Presidency?

I think I resigned my station at the end of 1779, to the best of my recollection, and I was re-appointed in October 1780.

Upon what account did you resign that situation?

With an intention of returning to Europe.

Are you sure that was your sole motive?

And the question being objected to;

The witness was directed to withdraw.

And being again called in;

He was asked,

Had you any other motive for quitting the Residency of Oude, besides your intention of returning to Europe?

That is the only motive I ever assigned.—As to giving any other reason, I hope the Committee will indulge me with permission to decline giving any other answer.

Did you come to Europe in consequence of that intention?

I did not.

Who went up to Oude, to succeed you in that Residency?

Mr. Purling.

Was there no intervening person?

Mr. Hosea went up there, with an expectation of getting the appointment, but did not succeed.

Did Mr. Hosea go to Oude to solicit an appointment from Calcutta?

I left Oude before Mr. Hosea arrived there, and therefore I cannot say whether he did or not.

Is it usual for persons to go to Oude to solicit offices which are granted by the Governor General and Council at Calcutta?

I should apprehend not.

What made Mr. Hosea go to Oude?

It is impossible for me to say.

Have you never heard upon what grounds, and for what reasons, Mr. Hosea went to Oude?

I have heard a great deal more than my respect for this Committee will allow me to detail.

What circumstances are they in general which make that detail unfit to be told to this Committee?

One

One is, that I heard that Mr. Hofea went up there at the desire of Sir Eyre Coote, with a promise that he would procure him the appointment of Resident: I cannot say whether this was true or not, nor do I know whether Mr. Hofea had any other foundation for proceeding to Oude.

Do you know with whom Sir Eyre Coote was to negotiate the conclusion of Mr. Hofea's appointment at Oude?

I heard it was with the Council at Calcutta, from whom alone he could obtain the appointment.

Was not Sir Eyre Coote himself a member of that Council?

He was.

Was it in Mr. Francis he confided to name him to that office?

I cannot say; there were other members of the Council besides Mr. Francis.

Was it not in Mr. Hastings he confided to appoint him?

I really cannot say; I do not know.

Has not Mr. Hastings frequently declared, that he considered the nomination of a Resident as specially belonging to him as Governor General?

I think I have seen upon record something to that tendency, but I never heard him declare any such thing.

Did not Mr. Hofea actually continue in the office for some days, and execute some of the duties of it?

I was absent the greatest part of the time Mr. Hofea was at Lucknow, but I believe he never did execute any official act; the duties of the Residency Office appear to have been discharged by Mr. Bathurst, the Head-Assistant.

To whom did you resign your trust?

To Mr. Gregory, Mr. Bathurst being at that time absent.

Did Mr. Hofea arrive at Lucknow before you left it?

I have already said that I left Lucknow before Mr. Hofea arrived there.

Have you heard what the cause was of Mr. Hofea's not being appointed?

I have

I have heard various causes assigned, the principal was his having proceeded to Lucknow, giving himself out as the person to be appointed Resident, without any authority for so doing.

Did you see Mr. Hosea on his return to Calcutta?

I had left Calcutta before his return, but I saw him at Fyzabad.

To what cause did Mr. Hosea attribute his not being appointed?

Mr. Hosea and myself were not upon such terms at that time as would have warranted his revealing the causes to me.

Did he in fact assign no cause to you?

Not to me particularly, but he has in my presence complained of Sir Eyre Coote's disappointing him.

Who succeeded to Mr. Hosea?

I have already said, that Mr. Purling succeeded me as Resident.

How long did Mr. Purling continue in that office?

Till the end of 1780, when I was re-appointed.

At what time did the secret pensions upon Oude, mentioned in the Treaty of Chunar, and Mr. Hastings's remarks on them, commence?

I apprehend several of them, if it is meant to the Officers commanding the Nabob's troops, commenced in 1779 and 1780.—Some also, I believe, were granted in 1781.

Were there no civil pensions and allowances likewise granted?

I believe there were.

To what amount?

I really cannot ascertain that, I have no accounts of them.

Did you not keep an account of all those pensions when you was at Oude?

Not of all—of some I did.

How came you not to keep an account of all?

They were not all paid through me, consequently I had no account of them.

Through whom were the others paid?

Through Mr. Wombwell, the Paymaster to the Nabob's troops under British officers.

Whether you, as British Resident, did not think yourself obliged to take cognizance of the establishment relative to British subjects in Oude ?

I certainly did not.—Mr. Wombwell was in no respect connected with my office as far as regarded his accounts ; but adjusted them with the Nabob himself.

Did Mr. Wombwell never transmit an account of the pensions and allowances on his list to the Governor General and Council of Calcutta, or to the Governor General?

I do not know that he did.

Did you transmit an account of those that came to your knowledge ?

I did not.

Did not the Nabob complain, that the pensions and allowances were an insupportable burden to him ?

It would seem that he made such a complaint to the Governor General, but he never did to me.

For what reasons do you think that he made a complaint to the Governor General, and not to you ?

I really cannot say what his reasons might have been.

Who recommended those several descriptions of pensioners to the Nabob ?

I really cannot say who recommended them—perhaps I might myself have recommended some, but the pensions were in general established by the Nabob himself, and many even without my previous knowledge.

Did the Nabob establish them upon recommendations from Calcutta ?

I cannot say that he did.

Did you ever hear so ?

I never heard that he established them upon recommendations from Calcutta ; but I always supposed he established them, knowing that it would be agreeable to the Gentlemen at Calcutta, whose friends and connections were the objects of them.

Was it not agreed in the Treaty of Chunar to put a stop to those pensions ?

In general I believe it was ; but the Resident's Office was excepted.

What were the charges of the Resident's Office at that time ?

I cannot,

I cannot say from memory.

Have you brought your accounts to England, or any abstracts of them with you?

I do not know that I have; but from memory I have stated them to the Court of Directors.

You will say positively whether you did or did not bring your accounts with you to England?

I do not believe I brought any accounts of the particular transactions.

Do you not know that several matters of charge were preferred against you relative to your conduct at Oude, and referred finally to the Court of Directors?

I do.

Did not you think it was expedient for you to bring all the money accounts of your residency with you for your justification?

I do not know there was any thing in the charges which rendered such a caution necessary.—I replied very fully to those charges in Calcutta, and I had nothing to add to them when they came before the Court of Directors.

Whether you left any record behind you in the office, relative to the pecuniary charges, namely, the pensions and allowances paid by the Nabob to British subjects?

I did not—they were not an official charge.

Of what nature then were they?

They were pensions paid by the written orders of the Nabob, and wholly unconnected with the Company's accounts.

Was not you entrusted with the execution of the treaty of Chunar?

I received instructions from the Governor General upon it, which are on record.

Question repeated.

As far as the instructions entrusted me with the execution of it:

In what manner could the execution of the treaty of Chunar, relative to the abolishing of pensions, be perfected without your knowing what they were?

By the treaty, the establishment paid by Mr. Wombwell was wholly abolished—consequently all the pensions dependant upon it were discontinued.

L

Question

Question repeated.

The treaty was made known to the Nabob and his Ministers, as well as to me; they of course took care that no pensions should be paid that were abolished by that treaty.

Are you sure that they took that care?

I fancy they did—it was their own concern, not mine.

Whether, if they thought it agreeable to Gentlemen in power at Calcutta, as you have already stated, to put on pensions, they would not have put on those pensions again?

Most of the Gentlemen who received pensions were withdrawn, consequently they had it not in their power to re-place the pensions.

Are you sure that no pensions were again put on the Nabob's list?

To the best of my recollection there was not while I staid there.

Whether the management of the Nabob's public treasure was not wholly taken out of his own hands, in consequence of the treaty of Chunar, and put into the hands of Hyder Beg Cawn and yourself?

There was an article in the treaty conveying such a power, but I never availed myself of it, nor was there any necessity for it, as the Nabob had not at that time any considerable treasure.

Did not you hear of a certain monopoly of salt petre in Oude?

I did.

For whose benefit was it monopolized?

In the two last years of my residence it was provided for the East India Company, with the consent of the Nabob.

For whose benefit was it before?

The two preceding years it was provided by the gentlemen at Lucknow, attached to the Resident's Office, on their own account.

Upon what account did it become transferred to the service of the Company?

In consequence of a proposal of mine to the Governor General and Council; which proposal, and the answer, are upon record.

What

What compensation was given to the Gentlemen who had that monopoly?

They did not expect any compensation.

Who gave them that monopoly?

It was procured for them from the Nabob.

By whom?

I cannot recollect, probably by myself; but I beg leave to observe, that it had always been a monopoly under the Nabob's Consomma, or head of his household, and the Gentlemen who obtained the monopoly made him a compensation for the same.

What was that compensation?

I do not recollect.

Do you know who managed the monopoly for the Company after it was transferred to their account?

It was managed by Mr. Scott, a private merchant, who had long resided in the country, and who is at this time engaged, or at least was when the last accounts came from thence, in many extensive mercantile transactions on account of the East India Company.

What revenue does the Company derive from it?

I never understood that they derived any revenue from it, but they obtained supplies from it which their own provinces were not adequate to.

What price was the company charged for that article by the manager at Oude?

I cannot charge my memory, but it will appear from their acceptance of my proposals.

Where was the place of manufacture?

In different parts of the Nabob's country, but chiefly in the province of Corah, and the Duabe.

Was Mr. Scott alone concerned in that transaction, or had he any other English Gentlemen concerned with him?

I do not think he had any other English Gentlemen concerned with him; he carried the business on entirely through the native Agents.

Do you know of no military Gentlemen who had any share in that transaction at any time?

Not during the period that I have mentioned, before that I heard that military Gentlemen had held it; but I cannot say whether it was true or not.

Have you not heard that one military Gentleman has had a considerable share in it since ?

I do not recollect I ever heard any such thing.

What did you do with the papers relative to the treaty of Chunar, which you took with you to Oude ?

To the best of my recollection they were returned to the Governor General.

At what time were they returned ?

I cannot charge my memory ; but I think they were sent down under charge of Colonel Hannay.

Whether, at the time of the treaty of Chunar, the finances of the Nabob were in great distress ?

He affirmed that they were ; but I believe not more than they had been for some years before.

Were they in great distress ?

Not greater than they had been for some years before.
Question repeated.

I had reason to believe they were in distress.

At what rate of interest did you and Mr. Johnson make your loans in the year 1782 ?

I do not recollect what it was on those loans which were effected by the Minister.

The Question speaks of the loans in which you added your own credit to that of the Nabob, to procure them.

They were actually the loans of the Minister ; I only gave the people who lent their money an assurance that I would give them every assistance in my power to recover it.

Had they assignments granted to them when they made those loans ?

They had some assignments granted them ; but whether to the full amount or not I cannot recollect.

How soon after the loan were the assignments made ?

The loan was made in my absence, but I believe the Assignments very soon followed.

Did you engage for the loan, without knowing what the interest was ?

The loan, as I said before, was made in my absence ; I really do not recollect what the interest was.

Was it two per cent. per month ?

I do not think it was so much ; but I apprehend the interest will appear in the proceedings on that subject.

Could

Could the Nabob have borrowed at that rate, if you had not given some assurances to the Bankers?

I should apprehend he would not have been able to borrow so large a sum without such an assurance as I gave them.

Were not the demands from Calcutta at that time very large upon the Vizier?

They were.

Were they not so the year before?

They were.

Was his army regularly paid up?

I believe it was not—but I cannot speak with certainty.

Were his other establishments regularly paid up?

I believe they were paid much in the same way as his army.

On what occasion did the Nabob of Oude make a present of ten lacks of rupees to Mr. Hastings?

I never heard of that present until I saw it in the different publications that have been written upon it.

Was not you at Chunar during the whole time of the Nabob's residence there?

I was.

Were you not in confidence with the Nabob's Treasurer and Minister, Hyder Beg Cawn?

I believe as much as any of the other Residents there.

Was you present at the negotiation of the treaty of Chunar, between Mr. Hastings and the Nabob?

I was present at the signing of the Treaty.

Was you present at the negotiation of it?

I was present at several conversations respecting the treaty; but I do not recollect that I was present when the different articles were discussed and settled.

Do you know who was present at the negotiation of those articles?

I do not—Mr. Johnson, and the Minister Hyder Beg Cawn, were present as well as myself when it was signed.

What Secretaries, or other English gentlemen had Mr. Hastings with him at that time?

There were several English gentlemen with him, and amongst them Mr. Hay, one of the Secretaries to the Council

Council at Calcutta, and Mr. Stephen Sullivan, who I understood to be his private Secretary.

Was Mr. Stephen Sullivan present during the negotiation of that treaty?

I believe my former answer applies to that.—I do not recollect who was present at the negotiation of the treaty.

Upon what occasion, and at what time, was a second present of ten lacks of rupees offered to the Governor General?

A present of ten lacks of rupees was offered to the Governor General, I think, in January or February 1782—I do not know on what occasion.

Through whom was the offer made?

Through me, at the Nabob's desire.

What discourse passed between you and the Nabob on that occasion?

I do not recollect that any thing particular passed, further than his expressing his great obligations to Mr. Hastings, and requesting me in the most earnest manner to procure his acceptance of this mark of his gratitude.

In what manner was the remittance of that money made to Calcutta?

It was not made at all, during my residence at Oude. When and in what manner was it remitted?

I must repeat the same answer;—it was not remitted during my residence.

Was it not remitted by your Assistant Resident, Mr. Johnson?

I believe it was not.

By whom was it remitted?

To my knowledge it was not remitted at all, during my residence at the Nabob's Court.

Do you mean to say, that you was not informed whether it was not remitted at all?

And the question being objected to;

The witness was directed to withdraw.

And being again called in;

The question was repeated.

I was not informed that it was remitted, and had reason to believe it was not.

Did

Did you never hear that the bills were returned to Lucknow?

No; I did not.

Did you hear that no steps were taken towards a remittance, previous to the desire of Mr. Hastings to have that present made to the Company?

A provision was made for it, but it was not remitted.

What was that provision?

Jaydaads or assignments were given for it.

Upon whom?

I do not recollect particularly upon whom.

In whose favour?

In favour of the Resident.

What did the Resident do in consequence of the receipt of those jaydaads?

He collected as much as he could upon them; and it was carried to the account of the public collections of the Company.

In what account was credit given to the Nabob for it?

In his account current with the Company; the assignment became a part of the general assignments, and the Nabob never credited for what was realized upon them.

Where was that credit given?—in what month's account?

In no particular month's accounts; they were added to the general assignments, and the Nabob was credited for the receipts monthly.

Was it specifically stated in those accounts, and a specific credit given for it by names?

No, I do not think it was.

Whether the Nabob of Oude is informed, that the Company's servants are prohibited from taking presents?

I do not know that he is.

Was not some intimation given to him on that subject, relative to some allowances that were to be made to Sir Eyre Coote?

I do not recollect there was.

Have you not seen a letter from the Nabob, declaring,

ing, that any enquiries on that subject were exceedingly improper?

I do not recollect I ever saw such a letter.

How came you never to inform the Nabob of Oude, in your long residence there, that the Governor General and other British servants were not permitted to take presents?

It did not strike me as necessary; concluding, that if it was a part of the Resident's duty, my predecessor would not have omitted it.

Do you know whether your predecessor did omit it?

I do not.

Whether the Nabob of Oude is in a custom of offering presents as tokens of his gratitude to English gentlemen in high stations?

I do not know that he has.

How came he to begin with Mr. Hastings?

It is impossible for me to say what his reasons were.

You have said that the 2d present was offered to Mr. Hastings about January or February 1782: what was it that particularly moved the gratitude of the Nabob of Oude towards Mr. Hastings at that time, that he offered him so considerable a present?

I have said, that at that time a present was offered through me to Mr. Hastings, but I cannot say what were the Nabob's motives particularly at that time.

What favour had Mr. Hastings conferred on him, at or about that time, that might be supposed to excite his gratitude at that time?

I do not know of any—but about that time all the military establishments were paid off according to the Chunar treaty, and were no longer a charge upon the Nabob.—It is possible that on that occasion he might have thought Mr. Hastings entitled to this mark of his gratitude.

Whether about that time other corps of British troops were not sent into the Nabob's country at his charge?

I do not know of any.

Have you never heard of Col. Cumming's brigade being sent there about that time?

No—it was not—I never heard that it was.

Whether

Whether Major Palmer was not sent up to Lucknow during your residency ?

He was.

In what character ?

The letter that the Governor General wrote to me upon that subject is upon record.—I would rather chuse to refer to that letter for the character in which Major Palmer went there, than trust to my own construction of it.

In what character was Major Palmer there, according to your opinion ?

And the question being objected to,

The witness was directed to withdraw.

And being again called in,

The question was repeated.

I really do not know any character he was in there, but what was described in those instructions.

What opinion did you conceive of Major Palmer's character and business there ?

I beg to throw myself on the sense of the Committee, to know whether I am to give any other answer to that question than I have already given ?—I have answered it to the best of my knowledge and judgment : what is further required of me is matter of opinion.

What is that opinion ?

My opinion is, That he came there as Mr. Hastings's Agent, for the discussion of those points described in his instructions.

Was not you Mr. Hastings's Agent ?

Not individually—I was the Agent of the Governor General and Council.

What business has Mr. Hastings for an Agent in his separate capacity, and distinct from the Company's Agent and Resident at Oude ?

I believe the letter of instructions which I have alluded to assigns the reasons for this separate mission.

Was not you capable of executing the several functions deputed to Major Palmer in the commission ?

As far as I am capable of judging, I was.

Whether you do not think that the appointment of

M

such

such private Agents has a tendency to weaken the authority of the Company's Resident in Oude?

In general cases I conceive it must, but in this particular one I believe the instructions given to Major Palmer were so qualified as to obviate that effect.

Whether, soon after that time, Mr. Hastings did not take some displeasure at your conduct?

I believe I had the misfortune to fall under Mr. Hastings's displeasure a considerable time before that, some months before.

Do you not know that complaints were preferred against the assistant Resident Mr. Johnson?

Mr. Johnson was ordered down from Lucknow under strong marks of the displeasure of the Governor General and Council, but I never heard of the complaints against him until my arrival in Calcutta, the end of 1782.

Had you any complaints communicated to you?

I had not.

Through whom did they pass?

I heard them in Calcutta—They were made known to Mr. Johnson by the Governor General and Council.

Through whom did they pass from Lucknow to the Governor General?

I believe from Hyder Beg Cawn, through Major Palmer.

And then the witness was directed to withdraw.

To report a progress, &c,

MINUTES

MINUTES, &c.

Veneris, 19^o die Maij 1786.

COMMITTEE of the Whole House on the Articles of Charge of High Crimes and Misdemeanors, presented to the House against Warren Hastings, Esquire, late Governor General of Bengal.

NATHANIEL MIDDLETON, Esquire, called in, and examined,

The latter part of the evidence given by the witness on the last day of the sitting of this Committee being read to him ;

He was asked,

Is it to be understood then that Major Palmer did not communicate to you the complaint which he transmitted against his assistant ?

He never communicated to me any complaint against Mr. Johnson ; I believe he transmitted his complaints to Calcutta during my absence.

Did he inform you of the complaints at your return ?

He did not.

Did he inform Mr. Johnson of them ?

I do not know that he did.

Who transmitted to Calcutta the matter of complaint upon which you was recalled ?

I really do not know, unless it was through the same channel : I do not know there was any specific complaint made against me from Lucknow, or matter of complaint, nor were the charges preferred against me by the Governor

General and Council affirmed to have been founded on any complaint.

Nor on any intelligence from thence ?

Not that I know ;—I have nothing to guide my judgment in answering that question, but the charges themselves.

Have you lived in the country, been at Lucknow, and Calcutta, without knowing of a criminal charge against you, or of the particulars of the history of it, other than as they appear in the formal written documents of the proceedings ?

I knew only that I had given offence to the Governor General, but I knew of no charges, till they were preferred by the Governor General and Council.

Did you never enquire through whose means the matter of the charge had been supplied ?

I believe the charges were drawn from my own correspondence with the Governor General and Supreme Council.

You speak of your belief and opinion :—what do you know on the subject ?

I really have not read the charges lately ; but to the best of my knowledge, there is nothing in them founded on any complaints from Lucknow.

Do you not recollect that one of those charges is for not corresponding, upon a material subject, with the Governor General and Council ?

To the best of my recollection, there is such a charge.

Did not the Governor General actually state, in those articles, that you had neglected to inform him of the intended defection, and other misconduct, of Almas Ally Cawn ?

To the best of my recollection, that is one of the charges of the Governor General and Council against me.

Do you not recollect that the Governor General states that he had received that intelligence from other quarters which you had neglected to give him ?

I do not recollect positively that he does state that as part of the charge.

Is it not part of the recital ?

I do not recollect it—but it is very probable.

Who

Who do you conceive supplied him with that intelligence, true or false, which he stated you had neglected to give?

It is impossible for me to say—He never told me who had given him that intelligence.

Did you never desire to know who your accuser was, or desire to be confronted with the person who had charged you with neglect of the public safety?

The Governor General and Council were my accusers—they preferred the charge against me, and to them I answered it.

Why did you never desire to see the letters, or to be informed who the correspondents were from whom Mr. Hastings derived an intelligence so prejudicial to your character?

I did desire to be furnished with a copy of all the proceedings of the Governor General and Council respecting my conduct, and did obtain copies of them.

Question repeated.

I have given all the answer which it is in my power to give to that question.

Then do you decline to answer that question?

I certainly do mean to give the fullest answer in my power to that question; and shall be happy to do it in any mode more clear, that shall be pointed out to me.

Do you not understand the terms in which that question is conceived?

And the question being objected to;

The witness was directed to withdraw.

And being again called in;

The question was repeated.

I think I do understand the terms in which that question is conceived; and I beg leave to repeat, in the most solemn manner, that I have answered it to the best of my judgment.—I beg leave to add to it, that as I entirely, in my own judgment, refuted the charge, it did not strike me as necessary to take any further steps in it—the charge itself, and my answer to it, are upon record before the Court of Directors, and I hope this Committee will allow me to refer to it.

You are desired to answer how it came that, in point of common prudence, you did not endeavour to discover
who

who had given false information of facts to the Governor General, respecting your conduct, on which the Governor General founded a criminal charge against you ?

And the question being objected to ;

The witness was directed to withdraw.

And being again called in ;

The question was put to him.

I really am at a loss to give any other answer than I have already given ; but I do conceive, having positively denied the charge, and proved it was without foundation, it was not my business to bring those who had given the information to account.

Do you know that Major Palmer was the accuser of Mr. Johnson ?

I knew it from Mr. Johnson, when he received the charges from the Governor General and Council.

Did you know, or had you any reason to believe, that Major Palmer was your accuser also ?

I think I stated, in answer to this question, at first setting out, that the complaints against me probably came through the same channel as those against Mr. Johnson.

Upon what did you found that opinion ?

I did not know that the Governor General had any correspondent at Lucknow but Major Palmer, the Nabob, and his Ministers ; and therefore, if there were any complaints against me, it was natural for me to suppose it came through one of those channels.

Then do you think that Major Palmer had correspondence with the Governor General, which he never communicated to you ?

I cannot doubt it, because the letter on which Mr. Johnson was discharged I never saw or heard of, until I saw it stated in the charges.

Has not Major Palmer had conferences with the Nabob and his Minister Hyder Beg Cawn, at which you were not present ?

It is very probable he had. I was absent from Lucknow a considerable time while Major Palmer was there—one or two months.

Do not you know, or have you not good reason to believe, that Mr. Hastings had other confidential correspondents in Lucknow besides Major Palmer ?

I do

I do not know that he had any other than those I have mentioned.

Did you know the late Major Davy ?

I did.

Was he not at Lucknow during any part of the time of your residency ?

He came up to Lucknow with Major Palmer.

What was his employment there ?

I think, in Mr. Hastings's instructions to Major Palmer, he has called his Assistant.

Do you think he corresponded with Mr. Hastings ?

I do not know that he did; he left Lucknow before I returned to him.

Do you think it probable that any matter of considerable consequence in public affairs should have happened in the city of Lucknow, without the knowledge of yourself, or your assistant Mr. Johnson, or Mr. Hastings's agent, Major Palmer, or his assistant agent, Major Davy ?

I should think it unlikely that any matter of great consequence in public affairs could have happened without being known to one of us.

Do you think it likely that such affairs should have happened without being communicated by some one of them to Mr. Hastings ?

I can only speak for myself.—I should have considered it my duty to notice to the Governor General and Council any matter of any very material consequence that might happen in the Vizier's affairs.

Then the following extracts of a letter from Mr. Hastings to Mr. Nath^l Middleton, Resident at the Court of the Nabob Vizier, dated Chunar, 23d September 1781, was read to the witness; and is as follows, viz.

‘ (*) To this end the most essential point is to
‘ limit and separate his personal disbursements from
‘ the public accounts. They must not, in their total

(*) Read from Appendix, No. 1, to the Supplement to the Second Report of the Select Committee appointed to take into Consideration the State of the Administration of Justice in the Provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, &c.

‘ annual

' annual amount, exceed what he has received in
 ' any of the last three year. This amount, in
 ' twelve equal parts, should be paid him monthly
 ' out of the first receipts, and the remainder of the
 ' net collections placed separately in a public
 ' treasury, from whence his public, military, and
 ' civil establishment, must be paid, under the sole
 ' management and controul of the ministers, with
 ' your concurrence. It is of course to be understood
 ' that this has no connection, and is in no shape to
 ' interfere with the Company's assignments, and the
 ' collections upon them, which are to be conducted
 ' as usual ; and as, by the addition of the jaghire
 ' lands, with their revenues, to the Nabob's regular
 ' collections, his income will or ought to be consi-
 ' derably increased, I shall expect that the whole of
 ' the excess be appropriated to the discharge of the
 ' Nabob's debt to the Company.

' To these papers, and to the points consequently
 ' and necessarily dependant on them, I think it ne-
 ' cessary to add the following instructions, to which
 ' I require your most implicit obedience.'

Then the witness was asked,

Did not these directions give you a necessary inspection over the whole of the Nabob's finances, in order to enable you to apportion them to his private expences, to public services, and to the payment of the Company's debt ?

I did understand that the principal and only aim of those instructions, founded on the Chunar treaty, was the recovery of the Company's debt ; which being effected, I did not consider myself obliged to interfere in the Nabob's internal government.

Before the Company's debt was paid, did you not think yourself authorized and bound by those instructions to inspect the treasury accounts of the Nabob ?

The Company's debt, as it was stated at the conclusion of the Chunar treaty, was liquidated very soon after I returned to Lucknow—I therefore did not think it necessary to avail myself of a power which I considered only provisionally.

What

What time elapsed between the treaty of Chunar and the complete payment of the Company's debt?

I think the Company's debt, that is, the debt as it stood at the close of the treaty of Chunar, was completely realized early in January 1782.

In the interval between that time and the Chunar treaty did you not think yourself bound to obey the Governor General's instructions?

I have stated, in several letters to the Governor General, written in that interval, my reasons for delaying the execution of some of these instructions, which proceeded from the disordered state of the Nabob's country, the impossibility of immediately remedying the disorders that had ensued from the consequences of Rajah Cheyt Sing's rebellion, and my hopes of realizing the Company's debt, without the necessity of assuming the interference of the Nabob's government, which was provisionally ordered.

In what manner did the disturbances prevent you from inspecting the Treasury accounts?

I beg the Committee will permit me to refer to my correspondence for an explanation of my conduct in that particular: my letters are very full, and will, I trust, give them every information they can wish for.

Are you sure that your correspondence does specifically account for your not inspecting the Treasury accounts, agreeably to the spirit of your orders?

I cannot so far depend on my memory as to declare that the correspondence does; but I can venture to say that it speaks very fully as to the execution of the general tenor of my instructions.

Is the Committee then to understand, that in fact you know nothing at all of the management of the Nabob's pecuniary concerns, further than what related to the Company's assignments?

I hope the Committee will allow me to make a remark upon this question: — the whole tendency of the questions latterly put to me seem to be rather an impeachment of my conduct, than having any connection with Mr. Hastings; if it should so appear to the Committee, I shall hope for their protection against any examination that may tend to criminate myself.

N

And

And then the witness was directed to withdraw.

And being again called in;

The Chairman, by the direction of the Committee, informed him, that he is not to be permitted to call in question the regularity of the Committee's proceedings; but that if any question shall tend to criminate himself, he is not obliged to answer.

Then the question being repeated, the witness said, The Committee will permit me to decline answering that question.

Upon what ground?

As I conceive it may tend to criminate myself.

At what time did your correspondence with Sir Elijah Impey, relative to the objects given you in charge by Mr. Hastings, first commence?

I was in correspondence with Sir Elijah Impey during his continuance with Mr. Hastings at Chunar.—I do not recollect the exact time.

Was it after the treaty of Chunar, or before?

After the treaty of Chunar.

What reasons were assigned by Mr. Hastings for making Sir Elijah Impey the channel of communication between you and Mr. Hastings, when Mr. Hastings had Secretaries both public and private?

Mr. Hastings never assigned any reason that I knew of, nor did he constitute Sir Elijah Impey the channel of communication with me; but Sir Elijah Impey being with him at Chunar, and in confidence with him, I availed myself of his presence to obtain Mr. Hastings's sentiments on various subjects.

Why did you chuse rather to write to Sir Elijah Impey than Mr. Hastings himself, or his official Secretary?

The multiplicity of business in which Mr. Hastings was at that time engaged would not permit him regularly to answer any letters I might write to him.—I had very little personal acquaintance with the official Secretary.

What reason had you for thinking the Chief Justice a more proper person to correspond with in matters of state than Mr. Hastings's official Secretary?

I was

I was intimately acquainted with Sir Elijah Impey, and could be certain of his communicating any thing I wrote to Mr. Hastings, and obtaining an immediate answer.

What reason had you for distrusting the diligence and fidelity of Mr. Hastings's Secretary?

I cannot say I distrusted him—but I had very little personal acquaintance with him, and had been long in habits of friendship and intimacy with Sir Elijah Impey.

Had you been long in habits of communicating in matters of state with Mr. Hastings, through Sir Elijah Impey?

To the best of my recollection, I had been in habits of communicating with Sir Elijah Impey, and occasionally making use of his presence in Calcutta, with Mr. Hastings, almost from the time I first arrived at Lucknow, that is in the year 1780.

Do you think your want of acquaintance with men in public situations about the Governor General, is a sufficient reason for not officially corresponding with them?

I did not consider the correspondence with Sir Elijah Impey as official—my official correspondence was with Mr. Hastings himself.

Were the objects of your correspondence with Sir Elijah Impey matters of state?

In some instances they were so.

Have you copies of your correspondence upon public matters with Sir Elijah Impey in your possession?

I do not think I have them complete—I may have some letters.

Have you any reason to think that copies of those letters are entered upon record in the Company's proceedings?

I do not imagine they are.

Have you not done many public acts in consequence of communications through Sir Elijah Impey?

To the best of my recollection, I have occasionally communicated to the Nabob Vizier the sentiments of

Mr. Hastings upon their having been signified to me by Sir Elijah Impey.

Whether acts have not been done in consequence of that signification?

I do not recollect that there have.

Do you not recollect that certain measures relative to the mother of the Nabob of Oude have been taken in consequence of such communications?

I do not think they were, without Mr. Hastings's instructions—to the best of my recollection, there were none without Mr. Hastings's instructions.

Is it to be understood, that no instructions, or directions, relative to the principle or detail of business, were conveyed to you from Mr. Hastings, through that channel?

I think I have already said, that Mr. Hastings's sentiments were occasionally communicated through that channel.—To the best of my recollection they were not acted upon until confirmed by Mr. Hastings himself.

Are you sure of that?

I speak to the best of my recollection.

Was Sir Elijah Impey at Chunar during the time of the treaty?

He was not.

Where was he at that time?

I understood he was in his way up to Benares.

When was it first signified to you that Sir Elijah Impey intended to visit Lucknow?

I do not exactly recollect the time.

Had you any signification of the intended visit?

I had a letter from Sir Elijah Impey, mentioning his intention.

What did he inform you were the objects of his visit?

To the best of my recollection, a visit to myself, and a desire of seeing Lucknow.

Was that all?

I believe it was all he mentioned.

Did any one else signify to you any other purpose?

I do not think any other person signified any other purpose.—Afterwards, it was signified to me, I believe by Mr. Hastings himself, that Sir Elijah Impey, while he

he was at Lucknow, would receive the depositions of such persons as could give any informations respecting the Benares troubles, or others in consequence of them.

Have you that letter from Mr. Hastings ?

I cannot positively say I have.

Did Sir Elijah Impey take any affidavits upon that business after his arrival at Lucknow ?

He did.

Was you present at the taking of those affidavits ?

I do not recollect that I was—he took my affidavit.

Do you think you could have been present at the taking of the other affidavits, without your recollecting it ?

I think I might have been in a room where an affidavit was taken, without even observing it.

Do you know who was present at the taking of those affidavits ?

I do not.

Do you know that any one was present at the taking of those affidavits ?

I do not.

Do you know whether some of the persons whose affidavits were taken were not natives that did not understand the English tongue ?

Some of them were natives.—I do not know whether they understood English or not—it is probable some of them did not.

Have you not heard that some of them were persons that could neither read nor write ?

I do not recollect hearing at that time any thing about them—but I observe in Mr. Hastings's narrative, that some do come under that description.

Who acted as Moonshy or Clerk to Sir Elijah Impey in taking those affidavits ?

I do not know.

Do you know whether those affidavits were communicated to the parties who were to be affected by them ?

I do not know that they were—and I rather believe that they were not.

Was there not matter in those affidavits to affect the mother and grandmother of the Nabob of Oude, and their principal servants ?

There

There was:

When did Sir Elijah Impey communicate those affidavits, or copies of them, to you?

I do not recollect that he did communicate them to me.

Did you ever call upon him for copies of those affidavits?

I did not.

Whether there was not matter in those affidavits tending to criminate the Nabob's brother, Mirza Sâdut Ali?

It appears there was, as they are recorded in Mr. Hastings's narrative.

Whether, in some of the papers recorded in that narrative, and in those affidavits, there is not matter tending to criminate the Nabob of Oude himself?

To the best of my recollection, there are some suspicions declared of the Nabob.

Whether you have reason to think that Sir Elijah Impey caused any communication to be made to any of those parties, of the charges that were against them?

I do not suppose he did.

Was there not an adverse proceeding against the mother and grandmother of the Nabob of Oude, and their principal servants, in consequence of the matter in those depositions?

I conceive it was not entirely in consequence of the matter contained in those depositions, but upon the concurrent circumstances, as fully detailed in my correspondence with Mr. Hastings.

Did you not alledge, as a justification of your proceedings against the mother and grandmother of the Nabob of Oude, that they had entered into a conspiracy to exterminate the English nation?

It was my firm belief that they had used every means in their power to promote the rebellion of the Rajah Cheyt Sing, and that they had encouraged it in the Nabob's own dominions; on that belief I founded my opinion that they had forfeited the protection of the East India Company.

Had you any other grounds for acts, by which you overturned

overturned a solemn treaty and guarantee, besides that belief?

I had the concurrent testimony of the whole country.—I must beg leave to observe, that the acts there imputed to me were the acts of the Nabob, the part I had in them was in consequence of the Nabob's order, and my instructions from the Governor General.

Have you transmitted any other grounds of your belief, than those contained in Mr. Hastings's narrative, and the other documents transmitted to you by the Council at Calcutta?

I believe my letters to the Governor General and Council contain full accounts, and all the accounts I have transmitted on that subject.

Did you intercept any letters from the Begums, or their principal servants, tending to shew their concern in the rebellion with which you charge them?

I did not; I was with the Governor General at Chunar during the greatest part of the insurrection.

Whether you did not, when you besieged the Kelha of Fyzabad, send in a letter from Mr. Hastings to the Begum, withdrawing the guarantee of the East India Company?

I do recollect, soon after the Nabob had taken possession of the Kelha, sending in a letter to the Begum from Mr. Hastings, but I am not acquainted with the contents of it.

From whom did you receive that letter?

Either from Mr. Hastings himself, or from Major Davy, his Persian interpreter.

Are you sure you do not know the contents of it?

I not recollect that I ever saw a copy of it; but in the multiplicity of letters I received, it is very possible I may, without remembering it.

Did you ever apply to the Begum for a copy of it?

I did not.

By what means did the eunuchs, Jewar and Behar Ally Cawn, fall into your hands?

They delivered themselves up to the Nabob, and he sent them to me, desiring that they might be kept under a guard of the Company's Sepoys.

Was

Was the Nabob at that time in the city of Fyzabad?
He was not; he was at the distance of about a mile from Fyzabad.

To whom did they surrender themselves?

To the Nabob.

What, personally?

Yes.

Did they go a mile from the Kelha, and personally surrender themselves to him?

I cannot say whether they were not guarded to the Nabob's tents; his troops, with a detachment of the Company's, were at that time in possession of the Kelha.

Under what guard were the eunuchs taken to the Nabob?

I cannot say whether they were under any guard, or not; they were sent to me under a guard.

Was it a guard of the Company's troops, or the Nabob's?

The Nabob's.

How came they to be delivered over to your custody?

There was no express reason assigned at the time—the Nabob desired they might be kept in safe custody.

Did you not give the order relative to that custody?

I did, by the Nabob's desire.

Was you an officer of the Nabob's, that you was to execute his orders for confining any person?

I was not; but the Nabob had authority to send orders to the Company's troops employed in his service, and did usually send those orders through me.

Had you the Nabob's instructions relative to the manner of confining and treating those prisoners?

There was nothing done with respect to those prisoners but by the Nabob's desire, and with his concurrence.

Whether you have any of those directions and orders in writing?

I believe I had some; but I beg leave to observe, that the Nabob and myself had personal communication every day, and that his instructions were generally given verbally.

Did you think yourself authorized to give written instructions to English officers, without having any other than

than verbal authority from the Nabob of Oude, especially when they related to invidious acts, contrary to the Company's guarantee?

I have on many occasions issued orders to the officers commanding the Company's troops upon the Nabob's verbal communication.

Do you not know that the Nabob was reluctantly brought to this business?

I do not know that he was.

Are you sure that you did not express, in any part of your correspondence, your apprehensions of the hesitation and backwardness of the Nabob to accomplish it?

I believe I have on many occasions expressed apprehensions, arising from the known influence of the disaffected men about his person—men disaffected to our Government;—I have experienced that effect on many occasions, and it is possible I may have expressed apprehensions of it on this.

Whether the checking the Nabob in the accomplishing this business, was to be considered as a mark of disaffection to the British Government?

I should not have considered their conduct on this occasion alone as a sufficient proof of their disaffection to our Government; but their conduct in general I have experienced to be so.

Why do you allude to your apprehensions of their disaffection to the British Government in this particular case?

I had apprehensions they would impede this measure, because their own interest was remotely affected by it.

Question repeated.

If there was any hesitation—I do not recollect that there was any particular hesitation in the Nabob to this measure,—if there was, I certainly must attribute it to them.—The measure was originally of the Nabob's own suggestion; I could therefore impute any alterations in his designs to no other cause than such as I had often found in my proceedings, I mean the influence of these men over him.

What has that advice to do with disaffection to the British Government?

O

They

They certainly knew that the Nabob's treasures, when received from the Begums, were to be appropriated to the liquidation of the Company's debts — this the Nabob had himself declared, when he first mentioned his design of going to Fyzabad ; in obstructing it therefore, they thought they were doing a disservice to the British Government. At this time also the resumption of the jaghires had also been talked of, though not absolutely decided on.

Who was present when the Nabob suggested this design to you ?

His Ministers, to the best of my recollection.

Which of them ?

I believe both.

Did they oppose it ?

They did not.

Did not one of them write letters, which Mr. Hastings called insolent, on this very subject ?

I never heard that he did.

Have you never read Mr. Hastings's instructions to your successor, Mr. Bristow ?

I have only read such parts of them as I find recorded in the charges now circulated against Mr. Hastings.

Have you seen the papers printed by order of this house, containing those instructions ?

I certainly have not ; if I have seen them, I have not read them ; I have seen many papers, but I certainly have never read the instructions.

Have you never heard that Hyder Beg Cawn did obstruct the execution of the measure of seizing the Begums treasures ?

No, I never did.

Had you any written paper from the Nabob or his Ministers to shew that this proposal originated from him (the Nabob) ?

I think I had a letter from the Nabob expressly on that subject, which also inclosed a letter to Mr. Hastings, as I supposed, on the same subject.

Did you transmit those papers to Mr. Hastings ?

I certainly did.

Did the Nabob propose the taking the treasures as an alternative

alternative for preventing the resumption of the jaghires, or as a measure that was to go along with it?

I do not recollect that he proposed it as an alternative for the resumption of the jaghires; the resumption of the jaghires was some time afterwards.

Do you know that they were measures that the Nabob proposed at any time to be concurrent measures?

I do not know that he did.

When you took possession of the Kelha, and had the eunuchs in prison, what orders did you give to the officer who had them in custody?

I do not recollect exactly the orders I gave, but it was to keep them in safe custody.

Did you not give orders to have them put in irons?

To the best of my remembrance I did.

Did you not give orders that they should be kept without food or water?

I do not recollect that I did.

At what time was it proposed to the eunuchs to discover the treasures of their mistresses?

I believe very soon after their confinement—The proposal was made to them by the Nabob's Minister.

What was their answer?

The Minister did not immediately bring me their answer.—To the best of my remembrance, one or two days passed in negotiations between them.

What do you mean by negotiations?

Conversations, to which I was not privy.—At the expiration of the period of those conversations he informed me, that he had proposed to them to discover the treasures of his master's late father, in which case he would intercede for a remission of the punishment that they merited for their conduct during the troubles at Benares.

Were not the eunuchs entrusted by their mistresses with the care and custody of their treasure?

I suppose they were—but one of them, Behar Ally Cawn, had been probably trusted by the late Sujah Dowlah, as he was the Agent always employed between Sujah Dowlah and his wife.

Was you acquainted with the terms of this negociation?

I was.

Was you consulted about it ?

I was not consulted—I was acquainted with it.

Did you remonstrate against the terms of such a treaty ?

I did not.

Did you think that the betraying of a trust was a proper method of meriting a pardon for a rebellion ?

I did not consider it as betraying a trust.—I did conceive the Nabob had a right to take his treasures, or the treasures of his late father, from whatever hands they might happen to be lodged in.—These eunuchs were the only persons that could properly be compellable to discover the treasures.

Do you know whether those treasures belonged to the women, or to the old Nabob ?

I cannot say whether the treasures which the Begum gave up were actually the treasures of the late Nabob ; but I have not a doubt that she had in her possession treasures to much greater amount than that which had been lodged in her hands by the late Nabob.

How do you know that ?

It is impossible for me to give any positive proof of that—I believe nobody ever doubted that the late Nabob did die possessed of considerable treasures ; and it is very certain that he had no other deposit for them but in the Zenana.

Do you know for certain that during the Nabob's life-time his wife and mother were not possessed of considerable treasures of their own, or from his gift ?

I do not believe that they possessed treasures to any considerable amount, either of their own, or of his gift.—He succeeded to all his father's treasures, to the treasures of Sufter Jung, and gave the Begum, his widow, an allowance in jaghire of about a lack and 20,000 rupees annually.

Do you know that the old Nabob did not make any donation to his mother and wife, during his life-time ?

It is a matter, I conceive, I cannot bring to positive proof ; but it is my own opinion, and I believe the opinion of every man in that country, that he did not.

Do you think that a loose public opinion of any person's

son's wealth is a sure proof that they possessed it to that amount?

I do not think it is — this is not a loose opinion of my own, but the opinion of the whole country.

And then the witness was directed to withdraw.

And being again called in;

He was asked,

Whether the eunuchs, Jewar and Behar Ally Cawn, made a discovery of the treasures under terrors of punishment?

They made the discovery of the treasures, in hopes of a remission of their punishment.

Whether the treasures, whosever they were, were not guaranteed to the Begums by you yourself?

To the best of my recollection, I did give my signature to the guarantee of Mr. Bristow; but I am not certain of that.

Whether you did not inform the prisoners, that the charges of their crimes should be delivered to them?

To the best of my recollection, I did.

When was that done?

I do not recollect exactly.

Was it ever done?

I think it was.

By whom?

By the Nabob's Minister.

Have you ever seen the copy?

I never did.

Did you ever see the answer?

No, I did not.

Did you ever hear that they admitted the truth of the charges?

I believe they did not admit the truth of them.

Did you ever hear that they were interrogated by any cauzee, or man of the law, relative to the offence with which they were charged?

I never did.

Whether a person called Shumshire Cawn, an adopted son of the eunuch's, was not imprisoned on the same charge on which the eunuchs were imprisoned?

To the best of my remembrance he was.

Was any copy of his charge delivered to him?

I do

I do not know.

How long was he continued in prison?

I cannot recollect.

Was he not discharged pretty soon?

I do not recollect—I left Lucknow soon after my return from Fyzabad—I believe he was released before I returned; but I speak with great uncertainty.

What proofs were given of his innocence, as distinguished from the eunuchs?

I never heard of any proofs given of his innocence, but I think there appeared strong ones of his guilt.

Why was he released?

I never heard; but I think it probable that he was released, because his principal was in confinement.

From whence were the treasures taken which the eunuchs discovered?

To the best of my recollection the greatest part was taken from holes dug in their own houses.

To what amount?

I do not recollect exactly, but my correspondence will shew it.

In what specie was the money?

In different species of rupees, in gold and silver.

How was it disposed of?

It was received on the Company's account, in payment of the Nabob's debt.

What was then done with it?

Part of it was appropriated to the payment of the English troops stationed in the Vizier's country, who were considerably in arrear;—to Colonel Muir's detachment, which was then on its return from the Mahratta country;—the residue was remitted to the Presidency at Calcutta.

Were the payments and remittances made in the actual coin found in the houses of the eunuchs?

They were reduced to the standard rupee, according to the established batta, or rate of exchange, the difference between one rupee and another.

To whose account was that difference charged?

To the Begums.

When the Begums had delivered such treasure as they had,

had, what reason was there for charging them any thing on account of the deficiency of the species?

The agreement was for a particular sum in a certain species of rupee, the Begums therefore had credit given them for whatever was received, according to its value, compared with the standard rupee.

Upon what principle was it, when the actual treasures were claimed as the Nabob's that any other than such as then were found should be demanded of them?

It was the Nabob's agreement with them, and not mine---he gave me directions to receive whatever was tendered by the Begums on the Company's account. It was impossible for me to receive it in any other manner than as I was to pass it in payment on the Company's account,

Whether the money first found in the eunuchs hands made a part payment of a bond, or any other speciality?

It made a part payment of the eunuchs own agreement---a written agreement.

When was that agreement executed?

I do not recollect exactly---a very short time before the first payment.

Are you quite sure that bonds were not given after the delivery of the treasure found in the houses?

As sure as I can be of any fact at so distant a period.---I think I may venture to say I am sure of it.

For what sum was the bond given?

I think it was for fifty-five lacks of rupees.

Are you sure that the money found in the houses was included in the bond for the fifty-five lacks of rupees?

I have said that the bond was given previous to any payment whatsoever---it was given as a collateral security for the sum of money that the Begum had agreed to deliver to the Nabob.

What equivalent or value did the Begum receive for that agreement?

She received none, to my knowledge; the money taken from her was considered by the Nabob as part of his hereditary treasures.

What opinions in law did the Nabob take, to ascertain whether the treasure was his or not?

I can-

I cannot say.

Did you know that he ever took any opinion?

I did not.

Did you hear that Mussulmen hold it lawful to seize on the goods and properties of their kindred, without the authority of a magistrate?

I believe it is consistent with the Mussulman law, that the legal heir succeeds to all the property and effects of his deceased parents---I do not know that it is customary for a sovereign prince in India in such cases to take any opinion of law.

What law do the sovereign princes of India, of the Mahometan persuasion, follow?

The Mahometan law; but I believe according to their own construction of it.

Do you conceive that the Nabob proceeded by law, or by force?

I conceive he proceeded according to strict law.

What opinion had the Nabob of the laws, but his own?

The common laws of the country he could not be unacquainted with.

Are you acquainted with the doctrines of the Khoran and its interpreters?

I cannot say I am particularly acquainted with the Khoran; but I have conversed with many interpreters on it, and I never heard one dispute the rights of a son to possess the treasures and effects of his deceased father.

As you have conversed with the Doctors of the Mahometan law, did they ever inform you that a chapter of the Khoran begins with these words, " True believers, keep your covenants?"

I cannot say I ever heard them.

Whether upon the resumption of the jaghires there was not a covenant in the treaty of Chunar, that pensions should be paid to those persons under the guarantee of the Company, whose jaghire should be resumed, and that the pension should be paid through the British resident?

There was,

Whether

Whether the Begums had their pensions to the value of their jaghires punctually paid?

A proposal to pay them in money, equal to the income of their jaghires, was repeatedly made to them, but rejected.

Was that previous to the seizing upon their jaghires, or subsequent to it?

To the best of my recollection, it was about the same time.

After the jaghires had been seized, was there any tender made of the payment of the pensions?

There was not—the reason I conceive was, that they had not made good their payment to the Nabob.

Was not these pensions to be an equivalent for the jaghires, and had it any thing to do with the other payment as it is called?

It was proposed as a full equivalent for the jaghires, and had certainly nothing to do with the other payments; but while a balance was due on that, I conceive the Nabob was justified in withholding the stipulation.

What had you to do with the agreement?

The money was to be paid to me.

Was you not bound by the treaty of Chunar to pay a pension equivalent to the value of the jaghire taken away—and had that any relation to other pecuniary dealings?

I certainly was bound by the treaty of Chunar to pay the Begums a stipulation in lieu of their jaghires—but I cannot think I should have been justified in insisting upon that stipulation from the Nabob, while he had a claim upon the Begum equal nearly to a year's revenue upon the jaghire.

When the Nabob had taken a written security for one of his claims, what right had he to stop payment of what he owed upon another account?

I must have been misunderstood, if it is supposed that I said the Nabob had a bond from the Begum—She agreed to pay him a certain sum of money immediately, which sum he made over to me, in payment of his debt to the company.

P

From

From whom did the written security come; or to whom was it given?

The only written security I had was from the two eunuchs.

Then, when a security was accepted for the demand, and the bodies of the parties giving the security were detained in execution from the time of the giving of the bond, and before the date of the final payment, on what principle was the payment of the pension given on another account withheld?

I have already mentioned the reasons I conceived the Nabob had for withholding the pension, and I do not think I should have been justified in insisting upon the payment of it, until he had received his dues from the Begum.

Was you not in the actual receipt of the rents of the jaghire lands?

I was,

Did not you afterwards mortgage the jaghire lands?

I did not.

Did not the Assistant Resident, Mr. Johnson?

Not to my knowledge; but I believe they were mortgaged by the Nabob and his Minister.

Then the Begum neither had the lands nor the pension?

Not while I staid—I left the Nabob's Court before the end of the year, and while the account between the Nabob and the Begums was unsettled.

Was the money remitted to the Paymasters you mention, and to Calcutta, in the species you received in payment?

I cannot positively say that it was; but most probably it was.

Are you sure that you did remit it in the species you received it?

I cannot be sure,

What did you do with that species?

It went to Lucknow, where it was examined by the Shroffs or Bankers, and an estimate of it made.

Have you the papers relative to that estimate?

I think they may be found in my correspondence.

Are you sure that no part of that species was sold?

I cannot

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I cannot be sure that it was not ; but if it was sold, it was sold for its value—it was received as bullion, and paid away in the same way.

Can you recollect whether it was sold, or not ?

I cannot recollect ; but I think it probable some of it was.—It was not in general in species of rupees that would have been received in payment by the troops.

Was it exchanged by the Shroffs at a settled batta, or was it sold ?

I have no doubt it was exchanged with the Shroffs at a settled batta.

Can you not determine positively whether it was sold or exchanged ?

I scarcely know any difference between its being sold or exchanged.

And then the witness was directed to withdraw.

To report a progress, &c.

MINUTES, &c.

Lunæ, 22^o die Maij 1786.

COMMITTEE of the Whole House on the Articles of Charge of High Crimes and Misdemeanors, presented to the House against Warren Hastings, Esquire, late Governor General of Bengal.

NATHANIEL MIDDLETON, Esquire, called in, and examined.

The latter part of the evidence given by the witness on the last day of the sitting of this Committee, being read to him;

He was asked,

You are desired to say, as a matter of fact, whether that species of rupees were sold or exchanged?

I really cannot recollect---possibly the accounts I have referred to in my correspondence will shew.

How comes it you cannot recollect in what manner you made the exchange or sale of so great a sum of money?

I really am not able to give any other answer to that question than I have already done.---I have said, that I know of no essential difference between exchanging the different species of rupees for others, on the fixed batta or exchange for each, or selling them for a certain rupee upon the same terms.---I hope the Committee will allow me to refer to the account I have already quoted for further particulars.

Have you any copy of that account?

Q

I have

I have not.

With what Shroffs did you negotiate the money ?

With the common Shroffs usually employed at Lucknow, in concurrence with the Agents sent from Fyzabad, to be present at the shroffing or examination of the said monies.

Who were the Shroffs ?

I cannot recollect their names, but they were Gomastahs, or Agents of the principal banking house at Benares, who were principally employed in the Company's service.

Was it Gopaul Doss ?

To the best of my recollection Gopaul Doss's Agents were the persons.

Was their signature to the account ?

I do not know that it was.

Is it not usual in transactions of this kind to have the signatures of the parties who settle the batta ?

The batta was settled according to the intrinsic value of the rupees, and according to a table of assay which was lodged in the Resident's office as a guide to him, for all receipts and disbursements from and to the Vizier, I know of no instance where the Shroffs signature was put to any account of that sort.

By what means is the fairness of those accounts usually authenticated ?

By the assays made in the mint at Calcutta and Lucknow, not by me, but by my predecessor.

How is the fairness of the transaction between the parties authenticated who go to have the money shroffed, and the person who shroffs the money ?

It is difficult for me to understand that question—if I understand it right, I will give an answer to it :—the rupees received from the Begums were, for aught I know, of twenty different species ;—each rupee had its intrinsic value, according to the table of assay lodged with me as my authority for all my transactions with the Vizier.—The Shroffs, therefore, had nothing to ascertain but the species of the actual rupee ; that done, its exact value was ascertained in the assay table.

Who was present at that transaction ?

I have

I have no doubt but the Begum's own Agents were present at every transaction relative to the money; they were sent from Fyzabad for that purpose.

Did they affix their signature to that valuation?

I do not know that they did.

What did the whole charge of batta upon the whole £.550,000 amount to?

It is impossible for me to recollect.

What do you think?

I really cannot venture to make a guess; but I apprehend the account itself will shew it.

Where is the account?

I think the account is mentioned in some of the letters which passed between Mr. Johnson and the commanding officer at Fyzabad.

Was there no other account?

I do not know of any other account of that transaction---it was introduced into the public accounts of the Company with the Vizier.

Were there not jewels and goods likewise delivered in part payment?

There were.

How were they disposed of?

They were most of them sold.

By whom?

By the Nabob's Agents, in concert with the Agents of the Begums, who were sent from Fyzabad for the purpose of appraising them.

What had the Nabob's Minister to do with them, the Nabob having transferred the whole of his demand upon the Begums to you?

It is true the Nabob transferred the whole of his demand upon the Begums to the Company, but he had credit only for the money actually realized; until therefore the goods and jewels were converted into cash, the Resident could not charge them to the Company's account.

Did not you take that security, the eunuch's bond, or other engagement, before that time, to yourself?

I did.

Did not you take the money upon which there was a loss in the exchange ?

I did.

To whom did you charge that loss ?

I drew out the account, and gave the particulars of all the rupees I had received, charging the batta upon them, and I gave the Nabob credit for the sum they produced in Fyzabad, on the standard rupee.

To whose account did you charge the loss ?

The loss was charged to the Begums' account.

To whose account did you charge the difference between the estimate of the goods delivered, and the produce of the goods sold ?

I do not recollect an estimate of the goods and jewels; ---the Begums' own Agents came from Fyzabad with them---were present at the valuation, and remained there till the whole was sold, and credit was given only for what they actually sold for.

Credit to whom ?

To the Nabob, as money received from the Begums.

What credit was given to the Begums in that account relative to them ?

Credit for what they actually sold for.

And no more ?

Of course no more.

Were they then delivered at random, and upon no estimate or valuation whatsoever ?

I do not know that any estimate accompanied them: they were brought from Fyzabad under the seal of the Begums or the eunuchs, I forget which, and they were opened by those Agents.

Was there an inventory only, and no valuation whatsoever ?

I do not recollect ever seeing an inventory, until it was taken of them when they were opened.

If the Begums were only credited for what the goods and jewels sold for, how came they to be delivered up to the Nabob's Minister to be sold ?

I could not receive them until their value was ascertained.

Could you not ascertain that value by the same persons

sons who ascertained the value of the money, or by jewellers, or other persons chosen by the parties?

I certainly could; but I chose rather to leave it to the Begums' own Agents and the Nabob's, as I was to give the Nabob credit only for the money they actually realized.

Whether the loss, whatever loss was upon them, was not for so much a charge upon the Begums, and not on the Nabob?

I do not know what loss there could be upon them, if they sold for what they were estimated at by the Begums' own Agents and other indifferent people, who valued them.

But if they did not, upon whom was the loss to fall?

I cannot say who it was to fall upon.

Must the loss not have fallen upon the same parties upon whom the loss upon the sale of rupees fell?

I apprehend it must, if there was any loss.

Did not you mean to exact from your prisoners the full amount of their engagement?

The Nabob certainly did mean to exact from the Begum the sum she agreed to pay.

Question repeated,

I did not consider them as my prisoners.

Did you not mean to exact from them the full amount of their engagements, whosoever prisoners they were?

That certainly was the intention.

To whom were the jewels and other goods delivered?

To the best of my recollection they were lodged in the Company's Treasury, under the seal of the Begums' Agents.

How came it that, having been lodged in your hands, you came to deliver them over for sale to Hyder Beg Cawn?

I do not recollect they were formerly delivered over to Hyder Beg Cawn, but he came to the Company's Treasury, where they were lodged, to be present at the valuation.

Then were they valued?

Undoubtedly

Undoubtedly they were.

Why were they delivered over to Hyder Beg Cawn for sale?

They were not delivered over to him for sale, further than I have mentioned. — After the value was fixed upon them by the Begum's Agents, and others appointed for that purpose, they were sold according to the valuation, to any body who chose to purchase them.

Who sold them?

I fancy the Company's Treasurers.

And not Hyder Beg Cawn?

I believe not.

Which of the Company's Treasurers sold them?

I cannot say that I recollect.

How many Company's Treasurers were there then at Lucknow?

To the best of my recollection, there were five or six then employed in the Treasury.

Were they sold by one of the Treasurers, or all of them?

I cannot say, but I believe they were sold by them indiscriminately.

Were they sold by public auction, or by private contract?

I have already observed that they were sold according to the valuation affixed on them by the Agents appointed by the Begums and the Nabob.

Question repeated.

By private contract, according to the valuation before mentioned.

Who were the purchasers?

I do not recollect all the purchasers; there were a great many.

Who were the principal purchasers?

The principal purchasers were the merchants of Lucknow.

Were they native merchants or British?

Native merchants.

Have you the account sales?

I have not.

Where is it?

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At Lucknow, I imagine.

In whose hands?

I fancy it is lodged in the Resident's Office.

Did the sum exactly tally with the valuation?

I have no doubt but it did.

Exactly?

I have no doubt but it did.

Have you ever known a sale where the parties valuing were not the purchasers, where such a thing ever happened that the sale and valuation should exactly tally in all the articles?

I cannot say I have ever known any instance of that sort.

Are not jewels in particular liable to a great diversity in that respect, namely, in what they are valued at, and what they are sold for?

They certainly are; but in this particular instance they were valued for what they would sell for.

Were there not many articles of wearing apparel and women's ornaments amongst the goods?

There were, to the best of my recollection, many articles of women's ornaments.

Is not their value very arbitrary?

They were mostly either gold or silver, and valued as bullion, to the best of my recollection.

Was there not a considerable quantity of cloaths, or materials for making cloaths?

There was.

Are they not very arbitrary in their value?

They certainly are—but I believe there were not articles of cloaths sold during my continuance at Lucknow,—there were some articles of that sort brought to Lucknow, but not sold.

Why were not all the articles of the Begums' effects sold by public auction?

I really do not know, but I believe it is a mode of sale very unusual in that country.

Were all parties admitted indifferently to make their proposals?

I do not recollect any were admitted before the valuation was made which I have before described—that being

being done, any person whatever was admitted to see them, and to take any part he pleased at the valuation.

Were they then disposed of by lottery?

I am not able to give any other answer to the question than I have already done—I have described the manner in which the goods were valued and sold.

Were they sold by lottery?

No.—I do not understand that to be a lottery.

What manner had you to ascertain a fair bidding and competition, in a sale conducted in the manner you have described?

I apprehend the mode described was the option of the Begums' own Agents.

Did the Begums' Agents nominate the persons who were to take them at that valuation?

They did not—any person whatever was free to take them.

Why did they desire that extraordinary mode?

I believe it is not an extraordinary mode, but the usual mode of such transactions in that country.—I believe that on a former similar occasion, in the time of my predecessor, precisely the same mode was pursued, and such goods and jewels as remained unsold at the time I relieved Mr. Bristow were carried down by him to Calcutta, and by order of the Council there, sold by public auction.

If several persons had a mind to offer to take the goods at the valuation, how was the preference to be determined?

I really cannot say.

Did the Begums' Agents sign the valuation?

I believe they did.

What were their names?

I do not recollect.

Are you sure that they sold them?

I am not sure—but I have no doubt of it.

Did you never hear that the Begums complained of the low value of the goods and the small produce of the sales?

To the best of my recollection, the eunuchs did; and they were informed, in answer, that none had been

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been valued or sold, but in conjunction with their own Agents.

Did not the Begums themselves send a complaint to that effect?

I do not recollect that they did.

Whether any English Gentlemen, besides those ordinarily residing there, were at that time at Lucknow?

I don't recollect that there were.

Did not the Nabob of Oude make frequent complaints of the English officers commanding corps in his service?

I cannot say that the Nabob of Oude made complaints against the officers—but he complained of the heavy expence of their corps.

Are you sure he never complained of any of the commanders, or of the customs and usages they established in the country, and of the authority they exercised over his subjects?

I cannot charge my memory with his having made any such complaints.

Recollect yourself, to answer to that question.

I cannot charge my memory with any particular instance; but I think it very probable he may have made complaints of that sort.

If he did make such complaints, do you think they were well or ill founded?

I think, in some instances, there might be cause for complaint.

Do you recollect any of those instances?

I think I have met with instances where troops have been sent out to collect provisions, where the Aumils, or Collectors of the country, have complained of the irregularity of the troops.

Were any English military officers employed in the collection of the Nabob's revenue?

There were.

Who were they?

Colonel Hannay was employed in the districts of Gorruckpore and Baraich.

Who else?

For some time Major Osborne was employed in a
R part

part of the Illahabad district, lying to the westward of the Ganges.

Were those the only two that were ever so employed?

They were the only two that were actually employed in the collections.—Major Balfour was stationed in the Rohilcund country, with one regiment of Sepoys, and gave his assistance as occasion required, in realizing the Company's assignments.

Had Major Balfour no share whatever in the collection, except merely as commanding a regiment of Sepoys?

To the best of my knowledge, he had not beyond what I have described.

Did not all the British officers give that assistance occasionally?

They did.

How came it then that Major Balfour, having no more particular share than the others, you came to mention him as an instance?

I have mentioned all the British officers in the Nabob's service, excepting the officers in command of the Nabob's body guard at Lucknow.

Had the Officer commanding that guard any share in collecting the revenues?

I recollect on one occasion, many years ago, his regiment being sent out to quell a disturbance in a remote district; but I do not believe he had ever any thing to do with the collection of the revenues.

Had the officer commanding the Resident's regiment any thing to do of that sort?

If the question means the Company's Resident stationed at Lucknow—none.

Had any of the subordinate officers, in any of the corps in that service, any share in collecting the revenues?

There were no subordinate officers but those stationed with Colonel Hannay.—I cannot say in what manner he employed them.

What corps did Colonel Hannay command in the Nabob's service?

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Three regiments of regular Sepoys—native troops upon the Nabob's establishment.

Were they cavalry or infantry?

Infantry.

At what time was Colonel Hannay appointed to the collections of Baraich and Goruckpore?

To the best of my recollection, either the end of 1777 or beginning of 1778, but I cannot recollect.

Was not you then Resident?

I was.

What was Colonel Hannay's engagement for his year?

I really do not know.

How many years did he hold it?

To the best of my recollection, till the end of the year 1779—till about August or September.

How came he to hold it no longer?

The Nabob, who had appointed him to it, chose to continue him no longer.

What reason did the Nabob assign for removing him?

The Nabob to me assigned no other reason, than that the country of Goruckpore was a district in which he had long been accustomed to spend some months, usually in hunting, and that his pleasures there had often been interrupted by Colonel Hannay's troops.

Was that the only reason you heard assigned?

It was the only reason I ever heard the Nabob assign.

Was Colonel Hannay restored to that situation?

Not during my residence there.

Then Colonel Hannay was only in that collection for those two years?

Upon my re-appointment to Lucknow, at the end of the year 1780, I found Colonel Hannay in possession of the same appointment he had held before, and I was informed that he had held it from the beginning of that year.

When was Colonel Hannay removed the second time, and by whom?

In September 1781, by the Governor General, at the Nabob's desire.

Did you not receive a complaint on the part of the

Begums relative to the regulations made to their prejudice by Colonel Hannay and captain Gordon?

To the best of my recollection Major Gilpin brought some letters to Lucknow from Colonel Hannay and Captain Gordon. A very few days before my removal I caused copies to be taken of them, and left in the records of my office.

When you went down to Calcutta, did Mr. Hastings make any enquiries from you on that subject?

He did not.

Did not you hear that Mr. Stables had moved in Council to make an enquiry into the evidence against the Begums, in consequence of a letter from the Court of Directors, expressing their dissatisfaction at the evidence against them, which had been transmitted?

I do not recollect to have heard such a circumstance in India.

What time did Major Osborne begin to rent the district which he held?

I cannot exactly recollect the time, but it must have been some time in 1777 or 1778, I cannot be certain which: in 1778 more probably.

How long did he hold it?

I left him in possession of it when Mr. Purling obtained my appointment.—I think he must have been removed from it about the month of May 1780. I was not at Lucknow at the time.

Who removed him?

The Nabob, I understood, who appointed him.

On what account?

I really cannot say, as I was not at Lucknow at the time.

Did you never hear?

I never did.

At whose recommendation was Major Osborne appointed to that collection?

He was appointed to the Nabob's service by the recommendation of the Governor General and Council.

At whose recommendation was Colonel Hannay appointed to his collection of those districts?

I believe:

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I believe it was at the recommendation of Hyder Beg Cawn.

Who recommended him to Hyder Beg Cawn?

I really do not know, but I believe he had been a great while acquainted with Hyder Beg Cawn.

Did those officers hold those collections in their own name?

Major Osborne I believe did to the best of my recollection.

In whose name did Colonel Hannay hold his?

There were different native Collectors under him, whose names I do not recollect.

Do you not know that it was contrary to the Company's orders for military officers to be concerned in farming or collecting the revenues?

I do not know that it is.

Have you seen Mr. Hastings's Remarks upon the Treaty of Chunar?

I have read them.

Do you know what ground Mr. Hastings had for saying, " That the remote stations of those troops placing the commanding officers beyond the notice and controul of the Board, afforded too much opportunity and temptation for unwarrantable emoluments, and created the contagion of peculation and rapacity throughout the whole army? "

I do not.

Did you see Mr. Hastings at or about the time of the treaty of Chunar?

I did.

Had you any conversation with him on that subject?

I do not recollect that I had any particular conversation with him.

Then an extract of a letter from Mr. Hastings to Edward Wheler, Esquire, &c. Council, Fort William, dated Chunar, 29th November 1781, was read to the witness, as follows, viz.

(*) No.

‘ (*) No. 1. Articles of Agreement concluded with the Nabob Vizier.

‘ No. 1. A and B, Explanation of the above Articles.

‘ No. 2. Agreement of the Nabob Vizier.

‘ No. 3. Reasons for the above Agreement.

‘ No. 4. My Instructions to the Resident.

‘ No. 5. Orders issued in consequence* of the Agreement, No. 1.’

Have you any copies of those papers?

No, I have not.

Were Colonel Hannay's battalions reduced on his removal, or only placed under another officer?

They were reduced.

Were Captain Osborne's reduced?

They were reduced at that time; but the same corps was afterwards re-established under the command of Major Clark.

Did they continue during your residency?

They continued till they were reduced by the treaty of Chunar.

Were they never re-established afterwards?

They were not.

Was there any recommendation to re-appoint them?

I do not recollect that there was.

Upon what ground did you and Mr. Johnson think it necessary to sign a solemn declaration, that you had not received any consideration for the part you took in the treaty of Chunar?

It was in consequence of a letter from Mr. Hastings, which in our judgment seemed to convey some intimation of that sort.

What was the annual amount of the allowances paid by the Nabob of Oude to Sir Eyre Coote?

To the best of my recollection, about fifteen thousand rupees per month.

(* Read from Appendix, No. 1. to the Supplement to the Second Report from the Select Committee appointed to take into consideration the state of the administration of justice in the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, &c.

On

(131)

On what account, or for what service, were those allowances charged to the Nabob?

They were charged on the Nabob when Sir Eyre Coote first went up there, on account of his extraordinary charges in the field.

By whose order were they so charged?

Originally, I understood, by the order of the Governor General and Council.

Have not you seen that order?

I really do not recollect I ever did; the order was to Mr. Purling, at least it was in his time.

Must it not have appeared in the records of your office?

In all probability it did.

Do you know when the allowances were to cease, according to the terms of that order?

I do not.

How long were they continued?

Sir Eyre Coote was in the receipt of them when I left Lucknow.

Do you know that there was a positive order from the Directors to put an immediate stop to those allowances?

I do not.

Did you receive any public order from the Council, or in their name, to stop those allowances?

I never did.

Did you receive any order to continue them?

I did not.

Were they paid by you to Sir Eyre Coote?

They were.

By what authority?

By the Nabob's orders.

Why was not this allowance abolished with the others, according to the treaty of Chunar?

I really do not know.

When did you first repair to Lucknow, as agent to Mr. Hastings?

I went up first as agent to Mr. Hastings in 1774.

At what time in 1774?

To the best of my recollection, in January 1774 I left Calcutta,

Have

Have you ever heard about what time the Rohillas took possession of the country called the Rohilcund Country?

I believe it is pretty certain that they first established themselves in that country from 1744 to 1747; they ultimately instituted their government there in 1747.

Of what profession were these Rohillas when they first came into the country?

They were adventurers or soldiers of fortune.

Did they apply themselves to husbandry, or manufactures, or the mechanic arts?

I never understood that they applied themselves to any other profession but that of arms.

Have you any means of judging of the extent of the country called Rohilcund?

To the best of my recollection, the length of it is about three hundred and fifty miles, and about half of that breadth in the broadest part.

Have you any means of judging of the number of inhabitants of all kinds in the year 1774 in that country?

I have no means of judging with any tolerable accuracy; but I have heard, and have reason to suppose, they could not be less than from one million and a half to two millions of people.

What was the character of the Rohillas as to good faith?

They were universally considered as people whose faith was not to be depended upon, and they were held, in the estimation of the people of Indostan in general, as a race very inferior to themselves.

When was the treaty made between Sujah Dowlah and the Rohillas for expelling the Mahrattas from Rohilcund—meaning that treaty which Sir Robert Barker attested?

It was before I went up into that country—I imagine it must have been in the beginning of the year 1773.

Have you ever heard whether Sujah Dowlah was upon good terms with the Chiefs of the Rohillas before the year 1773?

I believe it is very well known, that mutual jealousies had subsisted between them, which had their commencement in the life-time of Sujah Dowlah's father.

Have

(133)

Have you any reason to believe that Sujah Dowlah would have assisted the Rohillas in expelling the Mahrattas from Rohilcund in 1773, if he had not been instigated to it by the English?

I should imagine that Sujah Dowlah would not have ventured to have engaged in the quarrel, unless he had been assured of the support of the English.

Do you know, from your residence in that country, whether, by the usage of Indostan, and in the opinion of the people of that country, the attestation of a treaty by a person of such high rank as Sir Robert Barker, is considered as a guarantee?

I think it is.

Have you ever heard that Sujah Dowlah and the English did assist the Rohillas in driving out the Mahrattas, in pursuance of that treaty?

I have always understood that the service was performed by the English and Sujah Dowlah, and that they received very little assistance from the Rohillas.

Have you ever heard that fruitless representations were made to the Rohillas, either by Sujah Dowlah or the English, for the payment of the 40 lacks stipulated to be paid for that service?

I have heard that Sujah Dowlah made fruitless applications for it; but I never heard that the English made any.

Do you apprehend that the Rohillas would have paid the money, if they had not been compelled to it?

I do not believe they would.

Could the Rohillas have defended themselves against the Mahrattas, if they had not been assisted by Sujah Dowlah, or the English?

I have no conception that they could.—It is very well known that the very year before, the Mahrattas overrun and plundered the finest part of Rohilcund.

Did you accompany Sujah Dowlah in his expedition against the Rohillas, in 1774?

I did.

Was the war carried on with unnecessary cruelty?

My opinion upon the subject of that war has been very fully recorded in the examination I underwent before the

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Governor

Governor General and Council.—It is many years ago; and I would rather trust to that record, than to my own memory. I must, however, beg leave to declare, that I know of no instance of cruelty exercised in the course of that war upon the Rohillas, either by Sujah Dowlah, or by his orders.

Have you any means of judging of the number of the foldiers in the Rohilla army, and what they were generally computed at?

From the best information I could obtain at the time, they consisted of from 40 to 46,000 men.

What number were supposed to fall in the battle between them and Sujah Dowlah?

I should imagine from 1,100 to 1,500.

At what time of the year was that battle fought?

In April—I think the 23d.

Was not the war protracted from that time to the month of October under Fizoolla Cawn?

It was.

By the treaty of Lall Dang, what number of Rohillas were permitted to settle with Fizoolla Cawn in the territory of Rampoor, assigned to him as an independent state?

Five thousand men.

Was there any article in that treaty respecting the other Rohilla foldiers?

To the best of my recollection there was; which article was, that the rest of the Rohilla troops should depart the Rohilla country, and cross the Ganges.

Did that article respect the Rohilla foldiers alone, or did it respect the followers of the Rohilla foldiers?

I understood it respected only the troops in arms, and their Chiefs.

Have you any means of judging of the number of Rohilla foldiers who crossed the Ganges, in pursuance of this article?

I cannot judge with any certainty.—I left the Rohilla country before they crossed.

What was their number reputed to be?

I have heard from 30 to 40,000; but I don't believe there was near that number.

Have

Have you ever heard that any number of their wives or children crossed the Ganges before ?

I have heard that they did.

Were those wives or children compelled to cross the Ganges, or were they sent voluntarily to cross the Ganges, by the Rohillas ?

They were sent to cross the Ganges before the war commenced, I apprehend for security.

Who was the Sovereign of the country on that side of the Ganges to which the Rohillas crossed ?

Zabita Cawn, another of the Rohilla Chiefs.

Were not the Rohillas immediately received by him, and incorporated amongst his troops ?

I understood a great number of them were.

Did you ever hear that any people were compelled to leave the country after this great evacuation, in consequence of the treaty of Lall Dang ?

I never did.

Have you ever heard whether any of the Rohillas who crossed the Ganges were suffered to return ?

None of them were publicly permitted to return ; but it was very certain many of them did return.

What do you apprehend was the occupation of the greatest part of those who did return ?

Many of them went to Fizoolla Cawn, and many of them enlisted in the Vizier's own troops.

If the Rohilla soldiers had been suffered to disperse themselves about the country of Rohilcund, after the treaty of Lall Dang, instead of being obliged to cross the Ganges, do you apprehend they would have applied themselves to husbandry or manufactures ?

I do not.

Was Fizoolla Cawn able to receive and maintain them all ?

He certainly was not.

After the Rohilla Chiefs had been deprived of the sovereignty of the country, could any expedient have been thought of for disposing of the Rohilla soldiers, equally safe for the peace of the country, and more favourable to them, than that of compelling them to cross the Ganges ?

I cannot suggest any.

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I cannot suggest any.

Have you ever heard whether the Rohilla soldiers were averse to that article of the treaty of Lall Dang which compelled them to cross the Ganges?

If they had been averse to it, I conceive they had the power of preventing Fizoolla Cawn from acceding to it.

Do you know of any cruelty practised towards the females of the Rohilla Chiefs?

I do not.

[(*) Then an extract of a letter from the President to Mr. Nathaniel Middleton, dated 27th May 1774, was read to the witness, as follows; viz.]

‘ Colonel Champion complains of the conduct of the Vizier, in suffering, and even in ordering his troops to ravage the country, and in his cruel treatment of the family of Hafez Rhamet. This is a subject on which I cannot write to the Vizier; it might widen the breach between him and the Commander in Chief, and possibly influence the Nabob to some private revenge on the unhappy remains of Hafez Rhamet’s family. I desire therefore that you will take an immediate occasion to remonstrate to him against every act of cruelty or wanton violence: the country is his, and the people his subjects; they claim by that relation his tenderest regard, and unre-mitted protection.

‘ The family of Hafez have never injured him, but have a claim to his protection, in default of that of which he has deprived him; tell him that the English manners are abhorrent of every species of inhumanity and oppression, and enjoin the gentlest treatment of a vanquished enemy—require and entreat his observance of this principle towards the family of Hafez; tell him my instructions to you generally but urgently enforce the same maxim; and that there is no part of his conduct will operate so pow-

(*) Read from the Appendix, No. 27, to the Fifth Report from the Committee of Secrecy appointed to inquire into the Causes of the War in the Carnatic, and of the Condition of the British Possessions in those Parts.

‘ erfully

' erfully in winning the affections of the English, as
 ' instances of benevolence and feeling for others. If
 ' these arguments do not prevail, you may inform
 ' him directly, that you have my orders to insist on a
 ' proper treatment of the family of Hafez Rhamet,
 ' since in our alliance with him the reputation of our
 ' national character is involved in every act which
 ' subjects his own to reproach; that I shall publicly
 ' exculpate this Government from the imputation of
 ' assenting to such a procedure, and shall reserve it as
 ' an objection to any future engagements with him,
 ' when the present service, shall have been accom-
 ' plished.'

Did you receive a letter from Mr. Hastings, of which that purports to be an extract?

To that purport I did receive a letter.

[(*) Then extracts from Mr. Nathaniel Middleton's
 letter to the President, dated Bissouly, 17 June
 1774, were read to the witness, as follows; viz.]

' Although I cannot by any means acquit the Na-
 ' bob of the charge which the Commander in Chief
 ' alledges against him, on the score of his treatment of
 ' Hafez Rhamet's family, and his wanton ravages of
 ' the country, I can almost venture to affirm, that his
 ' conduct in these particulars would appear on a scru-
 ' tiny to have been less culpable than Colonel Cham-
 ' pion has been taught to believe. To you, Honour-
 ' able Sir, who are not unacquainted with the pride
 ' and haughtiness of the Nabob's demeanour, it will
 ' not appear extraordinary that he should have more
 ' enemies than most other men; even his own ser-
 ' vants are very frequently the first to asperse his cha-
 ' racter, and to accuse him of actions which, with all
 ' his vices and imperfections, he is incapable of com-
 ' mitting. The universal prejudice and dissatis-
 ' faction which his denying the army a gratuity they

(*) Read from the same Appendix.

' had

' had built with certainty upon, has raised against him
 ' in our camp, has laid open another source of unjust
 ' calumny. Hence, Sir, I am induced to hope, that
 ' Colonel Champion, relying too implicitly upon the
 ' assertions of every one who has thought it necessary
 ' to add to the popular prejudice, may have viewed his
 ' Excellency's conduct through a partial medium.
 ' Although I might mention many circumstances to
 ' prove that my assertions are not merely ideal, but
 ' drawn from real facts, I think it unnecessary to take
 ' up your time with more than one:—Soon after our
 ' arrival at Bissouly, a report was propagated, and ob-
 ' tained almost universal credit, that the Vizier had, in
 ' breach of the sacred laws of the Haram, forcibly en-
 ' tered the Zenana of Mahubella Cawn, and wanton-
 ' ly violated the chastity of his daughter; and to
 ' make the crime appear still in a more heinous light,
 ' it was confidently asserted that the unhappy victim,
 ' unwilling to survive the disgrace, had sacrificed her
 ' life to testify her own innocence, and redeem the
 ' honour of her family. The story carrying with it
 ' the colour of probability, and artfully related with
 ' such aggravating circumstances as could not fail to
 ' excite pity in every humane breast, a general clamour
 ' was soon raised against the Nabob; and as people
 ' who were indifferent to the effects of his displeasure,
 ' did not scruple to reproach him with the infamous
 ' action to his own dependants, the report was not
 ' long in reaching his ears. The uneasiness he mani-
 ' fested on the occasion, and the anxious desire he
 ' shewed to acquit himself of so dishonourable a charge,
 ' by his unremitted endeavours to discover the author,
 ' would have furnished strong presumptive proof of his
 ' innocence; but when it was notorious that his Ex-
 ' cellency at that time had never been in Mahubella
 ' Cawn's house—that his effects were left untouched
 ' —and that the daughter, who was supposed to have
 ' fallen a sacrifice to his pleasures, was yet in being, I
 ' could be at no loss what degree of credit to bestow
 ' upon the information. The other proofs, if requi-
 ' red, might have been drawn from the peculiar cir-
 ' cumstances

‘ circumstances which at that time marked the Nabob’s
‘ situation.

‘ The severity with which the Nabob latterly
‘ treated Doondey Cawn’s family, may be accounted
‘ for, and in my humble opinion in some measure
‘ justified. He always considered them as prisoners ;
‘ but until an appearance of treachery and deceit on
‘ their part had given him cause of displeasure, he
‘ did not betray any resentment : on the contrary, al-
‘ though guards were placed upon their houses, to
‘ prevent any things from being carried away, every
‘ liberty of access and egress was allowed them, al-
‘ though denied to the family of Hafez Rhamet; and
‘ I am persuaded they would have retained possession,
‘ at least of all their present effects, had they not
‘ abused the confidence he had reposed in them, and
‘ attempted to secrete their property. This proce-
‘ dure effectually closed every avenue to an accom-
‘ modation with Mahubella Cawn ; and those who
‘ are acquainted with the impetuosity and violence
‘ of the Nabob’s temper, seem less surprized that his
‘ Excellency should deprive this family of every thing
‘ they possessed, than that Mahubella Cawn’s infidelity
‘ should not have cost him his head.

‘ The family of Hafez have not merited such
‘ treatment ; though I think it probable they may
‘ have suffered for the misconduct of others. They
‘ certainly have been improperly neglected, and have
‘ suffered much distress and inconveniences for want
‘ of proper accommodations in camp ; but my own
‘ knowledge does not furnish me with any instances of
‘ cruelty or violence wantonly exercised upon them.

‘ I have the satisfaction to find, that I have in ge-
‘ neral anticipated your instructions on these subjects
‘ in favour of Hafez Rhamet’s family. I most ear-
‘ nestly solicited the Nabob, at the time I acquainted
‘ you with the son’s having delivered himself up ;
‘ and he assured me a jaghire, which would afford a
‘ handsome provision for their maintenance, should
‘ be allotted them ; but as he thought it probable,
‘ that the suffering Rohillas of former rank and con-
‘ sequence,

‘ sequence, to whom the natural inhabitants might
 ‘ be attached, to remain in the country, might prove
 ‘ a bar to the establishment of his own authority,
 ‘ and lay the foundation of future troubles, such
 ‘ persons as had any claim to his consideration
 ‘ should be provided for in his own three provinces,
 ‘ or in his newly-acquired possessions in the Doo-
 ‘ aub, where he could be a spy and check upon their
 ‘ actions.

‘ The family of Hafez Rhamet and Doondy Cawn,
 ‘ together with a numerous train of dependents, were
 ‘ removed a few days ago, under the escort of Na-
 ‘ bob Salar Jung, to Fyzabad, there to remain until
 ‘ his Excellency’s arrival. From what I have been
 ‘ able to learn, I have reason to believe that proper
 ‘ injunctions were laid upon Salar Jung respecting the
 ‘ treatment of these unhappy people; and as I shall
 ‘ be with the Vizier when he determines their respec-
 ‘ tive destinies, rest assured, Honourable Sir, I will
 ‘ not be unattentive to your commands.’

Did you write a letter to the President, of which that purports to be an extract?

I did write a letter to that purport, about that time.

Upon what terms were Colonel Champion, the commander of the English troops, and the Vizier, during the campaign of 1774?

I understood they were upon very indifferent terms a considerable part of the campaign.

Had you any means of observing the state of the country of Rohilcund, after the Rohillas had evacuated the country?

I had no good means of observing the state of it; I passed through it with Sujah Dowlah, after the close of the campaign.

Did the husbandmen appear to be returned to their usual employment when you passed through the country?

They did.

Would it have been consistent with the safety of the province of Oude, to have left the country, called Rohilcund,

Rohilcund, in the hands of persons who were enemies to the Nabob of Oude ?

The provinces of Oude and Rohilcund join each other ; I conceive, therefore, it would not have been consistent with the safety of the Nabob of Oude to have left an enemy in the possession of Rohilcund, as it would certainly have given a passage for the Mahrattas (the greatest enemies the Vizier had) into his country, whenever they might choose to attack him.

After the Rohillas had refused to make the stipulated payment of forty Lacks to Sujah Dowlah, was it not generally believed that they endeavoured to form connections with the Mahrattas, for the support of themselves against Sujah Dowlah ?

I heard such reports, but I was not in the country at the time, and do not know what credit ought to be given to such reports.

Was Bulwant Sing reputed a prince by birth ?

I believe it is very well known that Bulwant Sing was a very mean person.

Had he any hereditary power in the province of Benares ?

I believe not.

Was Cheyt Sing reputed to be an independent prince, or was he only reputed a Zemindar ?

In India I never heard him reputed any thing but a Zemindar.

Have you ever seen copies of the instruments by which his Zemindary was granted him by the Government of Calcutta ?

I have read them in Mr. Hastings's publication of the transactions at Benares.

Are they in the same form as the instruments to all the other Zemindaries under the Bengal Government ?

To the best of my knowledge they are.

Is a Zemindar, by the laws and usage of Indostan, liable to give extraordinary aids, on extraordinary occasions, over and above his stipulated rent ?

I believe it is a right which every prince of Indostan claims, and invariably exercises.

Can you mention any instances where you have known this right exercised by Sujah Dowlah ?

I have heard of several instances in which Sujah Dowlah exercised it over Bulwant Sing ; and in the Rohilla war, I was very well assured Cheyt Sing had a body of troops employed under Sujah Dowlah.

It has been thought that Cheyt Sing had the power of life and death—was that power usually given to Zemindars ?

I believe it is ; and in the Vizier's provinces it is given to every Aumil or collector of revenue.

While Cheyt Sing was a dependant on the Nabob of Oude, was not the right of appointing the Mahometan chief judge of Benares retained by Sujah Dowlah ?

I believe it was.

Was not the mint retained by Sujah Dowlah ?

I understood it was.

If Cheyt Sing had stood as an independent prince, unsupported by Oude or Bengal, would he not have been liable to the invasion of the Mahrattas, or his other neighbours ?

I conceive he would.

Did not his security in fact arise from the protection of Oude, while he was a dependant on the Nabob of Oude, and from the protection of Bengal from 1775, when he became a dependant of the Bengal Government ?

I do not think he could have had any other security.

Do you not believe, that the Mahrattas would have invaded Benares, if they had not stood in awe of the Bengal Government ?

I conceive they would.—If Rajah Cheyt Sing had no security but that of his own strength, I am persuaded that the Mahrattas would have invaded him, as they constantly did the neighbouring state of Bundelcund.

Had you any reason to believe that Cheyt Sing was disaffected to the English Government ?

I have no other reason to believe it, than having heard Mr. Graham, the former Resident at Benares, frequently declare his opinion, that he was disaffected to the English Government.—He declared also, that he had reason to believe the Rajah Cheyt Sing was carrying on a treasonable

ble correspondence with Nudjiff Cawn, and requested I would use my endeavours at the Court of Oude to detect the original letters of their correspondence.

When the extraordinary aid of five lacks was demanded from Cheyt Sing in 1778, and the subsequent years, by the Bengal Government, was Cheyt Sing's conduct such as by the customs and opinions of Indostan would be deemed contumacious ?

As far as I have heard of it I think it would.

Was it usual for the Princes of Indostan to punish the contumacy of their dependants by fines ?

I believe it was.

Did Cheyt Sing object to these payments upon the grounds that he was not bound to pay, or that he was unable to pay ?

I do not remember ever hearing what his reasons were.

Specify what acts of contumacy you have heard of Cheyt Sing ?

His refusal of the fine that was demanded of him.

Upon the demand of the tributary aid, what acts of contumacy can you specify of Cheyt Sing's ?

His refusal to pay it ;—I speak only as it appears from Mr. Hastings's narrative ;—his refusal to pay it, and obliging the Government to resort to force.

What acts of contumacy of Cheyt Sing do you know, or have you heard of, upon the demand of the tributary aid ?

I know of none but what are recorded in Mr. Hastings's narrative.

From your knowledge of the usages and customs of Indostan, is it your opinion that a Zemindar refusing to give extraordinary aid upon extraordinary occasions amounts to an act of contumacy ?

I should conceive it would, in the opinions of the people of Indostan.

And then the witness was directed to withdraw.

The witness being again called in, he was asked,

Is the Zenana a place where it is usual for the Princes of Indostan to deposit their treasures ?

I do not know whether it is a usual custom, but it is very well known that Sujah Dowlah deposited his there.

Have you ever heard that the revenues of the province of Oude were regularly carried to the Zenana ?

I have heard they were.

Do you know of any instances of Sujah Dowlah's having considered the treasures deposited in the Zenana as his treasures ?

During the Rohilla war, Sujah Dowlah gave me a draft upon his treasures there for 15 lacks of rupees on account of the Company, which was received and carried down to Calcutta.

Have you ever heard whether Sujah Dowlah made a will ?

I never heard that he did.

Do you know of any act by which Sujah Dowlah transferred the property in this treasure to his wife the Bow Begum ?

I do not.

If he had not transferred the property to his wife, nor bequeathed by his will, to whom did it belong upon his death, by the laws of Indostan ?

I should conceive it belonged to whoever succeeded to the Soubahdarry.

Who was that person ?

The Nabob Asoph ul Dowlah.

Did Sujah Dowlah leave great debts ?

He did, his debt to the East India Company was very considerable, and his whole army was largely in arrears.

Had he any other debts ?

I do not know that he had.

Did Asoph ul Dowlah, upon his accession to the Musnud, claim his father's treasures from his mother as belonging to himself ?

I was not in the province of Oude at the time of Sujah Dowlah's death, but I have heard and believe he did claim them soon after.

Have you not heard that from Asoph ul Dowlah himself ?

I cannot be certain that I have—I have seen it upon record.

Do you know what was the event of the first claim made

made by Asoph ul Dowlah, soon after his accession in 1776?

I understood it was refused, and persisted in, till Mr. Bristow interfered, and procured the Begum's consent to advance a certain sum.

What was that sum?

To the best of my recollection, it was thirty lacks of rupees.

Upon that occasion, did Mr. Bristow give the security of the English Government to protect her from the further demands of her son?

He did.

Have you any reason to believe that, after the payment of those thirty lacks of rupees, the Nabob Asoph ul Dowlah would have made further demands upon his mother, if he had not been prevented by the English Company?

I have no doubt but he would.

When did the English Government signify to Asoph ul Dowlah that his mother had forfeited their protection?

I do not recollect the precise time; it was about the end of 1781.

Upon what occasion did the English Government withdraw their protection from the mother of Asoph ul Dowlah?

In consequence of the part she appeared to have acted on the insurrection at Benares.

Did not Asoph ul Dowlah, upon this protection being withdrawn, extort a further sum of money from his mother?

He did.

In doing this, were any severities used towards his mother?

I do not recollect any particular severities, further than taking possession of the Kelha or fort of Fyzabad, in which her palace stood.

Was there any severity or incivility to her person?

I do not know that there was.

Were there not many jaghires granted to different persons within the province of Oude?

There were.

Was

Was there not a jaghire granted to the Begum among others ?

There was.

Did the Nabob ever express a wish to take away that jaghire ?

I do not recollect he ever expressed a wish to take it away without an equivalent.

What was the equivalent he proposed to give her ?

Whatever sum she collected from it according to her own statement.

Was it ever proposed, that an equivalent should be guaranteed to her by the English Government ?

It was proposed to be paid to her through the English Resident.

Would that have had the effect of a guarantee ?

I conceive it would.

Were there other jaghires granted by the Nabob of Oude, besides this to his mother ?

A great many.

Was the police of the Government and the collection of the revenues, impeded by those jaghires ?

It was a general complaint, and, I believe, with foundation.

Were any of the jaghires granted to persons of inferior rank, to the companions of the Nabob's pleasures ?

There were a great many of them granted to persons who had risen from very inferior situations, particularly to those who are known by the name of Orderlies.

What is the meaning of the word Orderlies ?

They were a number of persons about the Nabob before he came to the government, who always attended on his person, and were called orderly Sepoys. Upon his accession to the government, he raised them to the rank of Rajahs, and gave them jaghires, as well as commands in his army, and large civil appointments.—At the time I left Lucknow, one of these men had a collection of forty lacks of rupees.

When Asoph ul Dowlah expressed reluctance to resume the jaghires, did you understand his reluctance to be in respect to his mother's jaghires, or to the jaghires of these Orderlies ?

I under-

I understood it to be mostly with respect to resuming the jaghires of his Orderlies, and other favourites.

What description of persons were confined in the Khourd Mhal?

They were the late Nabob's concubines.

To what number were they?

I really cannot say, as a number of them had been suffered to go out at different times.

Were they women of low rank or condition, or women of family?

I believe there were originally women of family amongst them; but the most part of those who now remain are women of low extraction.

Was there a revenue assigned for their maintenance?

There was.

Had you any reason to believe that the treasures left in the custody of the Bow Begum were intended by Sujah Dowlah to be employed for the maintenance of the women confined in the Khourd Mhal, and the children he had by them?

I had never any reason to believe they were.

In what part of India was you in January 1780, when Colonel Hannay was again restored to his command?

I was at that time in Calcutta.

Do you know, or have you heard, for what reason or by what means Colonel Hannay was again restored to his command?

I have heard that he was restored to his command at the Nabob's personal request.

What clear revenue did the districts of Goruckpore and Baraich produce annually to the Nabob Vizier, previous to Colonel Hannay's appointment?

I cannot speak with certainty; but I have generally understood that the revenues produced by those countries (particularly Goruckpore) was very little more than sufficed to pay the troops that were necessarily kept in the country.

What clear revenues did those districts produce annually during the time Colonel Hannay had the command?

I cannot say; but the Company, I think for the two years I held the residency, had an assignment each year of ten lacks of rupees, which I believe was paid, except in the

the year of the Benares insurrection, when I believe, to the best of my recollection, there was one lack of rupees balance on the ten.

What clear revenue did the districts produce after Colonel Hannay's removal?

I cannot say, I believe very little.

Do you know, or did you ever hear, that the late Colonel Hannay ever was accused of the grossest peculation in India?

I cannot say I ever heard such a charge against him.

Was there at any time any compulsion used with the Nabob to induce him to grant pensions to any of the Company's servants or British subjects?

To my knowledge there never was.

Is it the rule for a Resident, when he quits his office, to leave his accounts and other official papers at the residency?

I apprehend it is; I have always done so.

Do you know when the monopolies of salt petre was first taken from the Nabob's officers, and given to the Company's servants?

I cannot ascertain when it was taken from the Nabob's officers; but I have heard that many individual Europeans were concerned in that article, even long before the death of Sujah Dowlah.

Was any military officer concerned in that monopoly previous to your appointment to the residency?

I have heard there were.

What was the Nabob's opinion of the justice and propriety of Mr. Hastings's conduct towards Cheyt Sing?

I never heard the Nabob express himself upon that subject.

Has the Nabob always entertained a favourable opinion of Mr. Hastings's humanity, good faith, truth, and justice?

As far as I am able to judge, the Nabob always entertained a favourable opinion of Mr. Hastings.

Did the natives entertain the same favourable opinion?

I conceive they did.

Was Mr. Hastings's conduct in the Government agreeable

agreeable to the people of India, and was he respected by them?

I have always conceived he was.

Of what age was Hafiz Rhamet when he was killed?

I never saw him—I should suppose about sixty.

Was he a native of Rohilcund?

I do not believe he was.

From what part of India did he come?

I understood he was one of the military commanders of Aly Mahomed Cawn, who first founded the Government there:—he came into the country with him.

From whence did he come?

Last from the Court of Delhi.

Where was he born, do you think?

I really do not know.—Very probably he was born at Delhi.

If he was born at Delhi, how came you to think that the Rohillas did not come into possession of that country till 1744?

He came to Delhi much before that.

How long before did he come into Indostan?

I really do not know; but I fancy a considerable time before that.

How long has Sujah Dowlah and his ancestors been settled in the country of Oude?

I think the present Nabob is the fourth generation, to the best of my knowledge.

Have you ever seen Dow's History of Indostan?

I have read it; but it is many years ago.

Do you recollect that he calls Sujah Dowlah "the more infamous Son of an infamous Persian Pedlar?"

I do.

Do you not think, that such random accounts of Europeans, taken from no authentic record, are little to be credited?

I apprehend his accounts are taken from the same source as mine, and other Europeans in the country.

Was not Zabita Cawn a Rohilla?

He was.

Had he not some dominions upon the eastern side of the Ganges?

U

He

He had.

Was he in friendship with Sujah Dowlah, or in enmity, when that whole tract of country was delivered to Sujah Dowlah ?

I really cannot take upon me to say.

What do you think ?

I should think he was rather an enemy.

What do you mean by the word rather, was he at war with Sujah Dowlah ?

Not to my knowledge.

Did Sujah Dowlah complain, that he had not paid him any sum of money agreeable to treaty ?

I never heard him complain of him by name.

Was Zabita Cawn a party to the pecuniary agreements, for the breach of which Sujah Dowlah made a pretence to extirpate the nation of the Rohillas ?

I never heard that he was a subscribing party to that treaty :—but I should conceive he must have been interested in it, as his country was the most exposed to the attacks of the Mahrattas, and had actually been overrun and destroyed the year before.

Was any requisition made to Zabita Cawn to pay any sum of money on that account, previous to the taking away of his territories ?

I do not know that it was.

On what right or pretence did the Nabob Sujah Dowlah send a great body of men, women, and children to burthen his remaining territories, after they had been ravaged by the Mahrattas ?

It is impossible for me to say upon what right he conceived himself to act.

What right had Mr. Hastings to assist him in that act ?

I really cannot take upon me to say.

Upon what principle do you choose to call the Rohillas an inferior race ?

I do not call them an inferior race. I only spoke of the general repute they are held in in Indostan.

And then the witness was directed to withdraw.

To report a Progress, &c.

M I.

MINUTES, &c.

Mercurii, 24^o die Maij 1786.

COMMITTEE of the Whole House on the Articles of Charge of High Crimes and Misdemeanors, presented to the House against Warren Hastings, Esquire, late Governor General of Bengal.

NATHANIEL MIDDLETON, Esquire, again called in, and examined.

The latter part of the evidence given by the witness on the last day of the sitting of this Committee, being read to him;

He was asked,

Who held the Rohillas in that inferior light?

The generality of the people in Indostan whom I have heard speak of them, and particularly the Mahometans.

In what province?

In the province of Oude.

On what ground,---or what reason did they assign?

I never heard them assign any particular reason---the reasons of the Mahometans probably were that they were of a different sect; the Rohillas being of the sect of Omar, and the others of the sect of Ali.

Have you, in your acquaintance with Indostan, known of any power that has entered into a treaty for the express purpose of extirpating, for a sum of money, any denomination of people?

I cannot say I have.

Did not the Rohillas offer terms of accommodation to the Vizier, before the battle fought with Hafez Rhamet?

I have heard that some proposals were made to Colonel Champion, tending to an accommodation, but I never heard the particulars.

From whom did you make your enquiries concerning the treatment of the Rohilla captives?

From my own servants and others.

What others?

Other people who were followers of the camp.

Where were the Rohilla captives when Mr. Hastings ordered you to make the enquiry?

Some of them were in Sujah Dowlah's camp, and the rest, I believe, were in the town of Biffoulee.

Did you apply to any of the captives themselves, to be informed of their condition?

I cannot say I did—I had no sort of communication with them.

Did you send to Biffoulee to enquire?

I did.

Whom did you send?

I sent my own Mounshee, or Persian Secretary.

Have you a copy of your instructions to the Secretary?

I gave him no written instructions—my instructions to him were verbal.

Have you any written report from your Secretary?

I have not.

What was the Secretary's name?

Moraud Ully Cawn.

Were not some of those captives removed afterwards to Fyzabad?

I am not certain—I think they went from the Vizier's camp to Allahabad; but I do not speak with certainty.

Did you never hear that none of them went to Fyzabad?

I do not recollect that I did—I am not certain whether some of them might not have taken that way to Allahabad.

Had the Vizier any, and what correspondence, with any others of the Rohilla Chiefs besides Hafez Rhamet, previous to the engagement?

I do

I do not know it of my own knowledge, but I have heard he had.

Have you heard what the subject matter of that correspondence was ?

I heard that he had some correspondence with the sons of Doonda Cawn, in consequence of their having proposed a neutrality in the war.

What answer did the Nabob give to those people ?

I have heard that he promised them continuance in the country they held, provided they took no part in the war.

Did he keep his promise ?

He did not.

What countryman was Nudjiff Cawn?—of what tribe?

I believe he was a Persian, of the sect of Ali, as I believe ; but I am not certain.

Are you sure he was not of the race of the Rohillas or Afghans ?

I cannot be sure ; but I never heard that he was.

Have you transmitted to Calcutta an exact account of the resumed jaghires, and their real value ?

As far as I have been able to collect it, I did.

When did you transmit that account ?

To the best of my recollection, a very short time before I was removed from Lucknow.

Do you know that twenty-five or twenty-six of the resumed jaghires were old grants previous to the year of the Hegyra of 1183 ?

I understood that some of them, I cannot say how many, were old grants.

Were all the new grants made to the Nabob's Orderlies ?

I do not believe that all were, but by much the greater part to people of that stamp.

How many were the jaghiredars in the whole ?

I cannot recollect.

Were their number sixty in the whole ?

I think there might be that number.

Did you, in the list you sent down to Calcutta, distinguish the jaghires made to Orderlies from those which were possessed by more deserving subjects ?

To the best of my recollection, I only named the persons, without any distinction of character.

Do you know what the countries of Baraich and Goruckpore were rented at, before they were rented by Colonel Hannay?

I do not.

Do you know what Colonel Hannay engaged to pay for his first year?

I cannot say I do.—The assignment upon him for the Company, to the best of my recollection, was ten lacks of rupees for the first year.

Are you sure there was any assignment at all to the Company the first year?

I am pretty certain, that, within the first twelve months of Colonel Hannay's going into that country, he had an engagement upon him for the Company, to the amount of the sum I have mentioned, or thereabouts.

Were Baraich and Goruckpore that year put into the Company's assignments?

They had those assignments upon them.

Were those places put into the Company's regular tuncaw?

I think they were.

What remission was made to Colonel Hannay that year?

I am not acquainted with it, if there was any.

Are you sure that Colonel Hannay's engagement for that year was not for thirty lacks?

I think it is impossible it could have been for any such sum; but I again repeat, that I speak with great uncertainty, having no notes or accounts whatever to refer to.

What were the engagements for Baraich and Goruckpore the next year?

I think the next year Mr. Purling came up to Lucknow, before the Jumma was settled.

Do you know what it was?

I do not.

Have you heard that it was twenty lacks?

I do not recollect that I ever heard what it was.

Did you hear what remissions were made in that year?

I did

I did not.

Did you hear that there was a remission of eight lacks on that year's Jumma?

I never did.

Did you look over Mr. Purling's statement of the revenue, when you came up to succeed him in his office?

I do not recollect seeing any statement of the revenues.

Did you ever send down any statement yourself to the Governor General and Council, of the Nabob's revenue, and the charges of collection?

I do not recollect that I did.

Do you not know that great disorders prevailed in the districts of Baraich and Goruckpore, during a great part of Colonel Hannay's administration; and that the whole, at a certain time, was nearly in rebellion?

I have heard that great disorders prevailed for a great part of the time of Colonel Hannay's residence there, and for a long time before. It is very well known, that, some part of the last year of Colonel Hannay's continuance there, the country was in actual rebellion.

What reason was assigned by the rebels for taking up arms?

I cannot say I had any communication with them, or heard any reason assigned, except in the encouragement they had received from Rajah Cheyt Sing and others.

How came you not to make an enquiry into the causes of a rebellious disposition in so large a part of the country, in which you collected so large a revenue for the Company?

I conceived it was the duty of the Nabob and his Ministers, and not mine.

Did you never concern yourself at all in any thing that related to those disturbances?

I cannot say that I have not—If I did concern myself at all, I have no doubt it was at the instance of the Nabob.

Did the Nabob, to your knowledge, ever receive any complaint of the ill treatment of his subjects in those provinces, during the time of Colonel Hannay's administration?

I do not know that he did.

What

What have you reason to think on that subject ?

I really cannot say—I can only speak from the knowledge I have.

Have you not heard that the Nabob did receive such complaints ?

I really do not recollect that I ever did.

Did you not yourself receive a complaint or charge to that effect ?

I do not recollect that I did.

Do you not recollect, that, in the paper delivered to you by Major Gilpin from the Begums, that they had asserted that Colonel Hannay and Captain Gordon had robbed the whole country, or something to that effect ?

I do recollect a passage in the letter from the Begums something to that effect.

At what time did Mr. Graham inform you that Cheyt Sing carried on a treasonable correspondence with Nudjiff Cawn ?

I cannot say exactly; but, to the best of my recollection, it was sometime in the year 1778.

Was it by letter, or in conversation ?

In conversation.

Where ?

At Benares.

Was any other person present ?

I do not recollect that there was—I believe there was not.

Was Nudjiff Cawn at that time at war, or in hostility, with the English Government ?

He was not.

Was he at any time ?

I do not recollect at any time that he was in actual war.

Did you take any steps to ascertain the reality of such treasonable correspondence ?

I did.

What was the result ?

I could obtain no certain intelligence about the correspondence said to have been carried on, and I informed Mr. Graham so by letter.

What steps did you take ?

I wrote

I wrote privately to the Agent I had at the Court of Delhi, where Nudjif Cawn was at that time, or in that country; and the Vizier's Ministers also, in the same manner, wrote to the Agent of the Vizier.

Did you give any information of those enquiries, and the result of them, to the Governor General and Council?

I did not—It was a confidential communication from Mr. Graham; of course I did not consider myself at liberty to make any public use of it.

Did you consider the supposed correspondence as of a treasonable nature?

I understood from Mr. Graham, it was of a nature which betrayed a disaffection in the Rajah to our Government; that that was the general tendency of it.

If you had given any credit to it, would you not have thought it your duty to give intelligence of it to the Governor General and Council?

If in the course of my enquiries I had obtained any proofs of it, most assuredly I should have considered it my duty to have made them known to my superiors.

The Question was,—if you yourself had given any credit to it?

I should not—It was, as I said before, a matter of confidential communication from Mr. Graham.

Do you remember having written a letter to Mr. Hastings, in which are the following words—"and so many
"disappointments have I met with in this, as well as my
"other transactions with his Excellency, that I cannot
"place much dependance upon his assurances:"—and also, "I am sorry to say I have experienced much duplicity, evasion, and deceit, in most of my transactions
"with his Excellency?"

I do remember them, or something to that purpose.

Do you remember the following passage in one of your letters to Mr. Hastings—"Colonel Champion has
"informed me that he has a multitude of letters from
"the family of Hafiz Rhamet, pointing out in the most
"pathetic terms the distress and misery they are exposed
"to: these would be the surest criterion to judge the
"Nabob's conduct by; but while these unhappy people
"are so immediately in his power, and no effectual
X checks

“ checks upon him, it would be dangerous to produce
 “ such vouchers ?”

I cannot say I recollect such a letter.

[Then a letter from the witness to Mr. Hastings, dated
 Bissoulee, 5th July 1774, containing the above-men-
 tioned passage, was read to the witness, as follows ;
 viz.]

Sir,

(*) ‘ Inclosed I have the honour to transmit you
 ‘ an address from his Excellency the Vizier, written,
 ‘ I apprehend, in consequence of some conversation I
 ‘ had with him yesterday, respecting the families of
 ‘ Hafiz Rhamet, and Doonda Cawn ; for, notwith-
 ‘ standing his repeated assurances to me, I had still
 ‘ reason to believe, from the reports which were daily
 ‘ propagated, and obtained universal credit, that his
 ‘ treatment of these unhappy people was such as I
 ‘ could not, consistent with the tenor of your instruc-
 ‘ tions, pass unnoticed. I accordingly remonstrated
 ‘ against it, and pointed out to his Excellency wherein
 ‘ his conduct, if faithfully represented, appeared to
 ‘ merit censure. I again warmly urged the prudent
 ‘ and conciliating measures recommended in your in-
 ‘ structions to me of the 27th May, and fully ex-
 ‘ plained to him how intimately the reputation of our
 ‘ national character was connected with every act of
 ‘ his present administration. Thus far premised, I
 ‘ intimated to him, in plain terms that I had received
 ‘ your peremptory orders to insist upon a proper
 ‘ treatment of the family of Hafiz Rhamet, in default
 ‘ of which he would most assuredly incur your dis-
 ‘ pleasure, and forfeit every claim to that support
 ‘ and protection which the English have on all oc-
 ‘ casions manifested such readiness to yield him.

‘ His Excellency seemed less surprized than hurt
 ‘ at the style of this address, and asked, with an ap-
 ‘ pearance of concern, “ Whence arose the necessity

(*) Read from a book, intituled, “ Bengal Appendix,” presented
 by Mr. Fitzhugh, from the East India Company, 26 March 1781,
 page 141.

“ of prescribing to him a conduct, which a due regard
 “ to his own reputation, in preference to every other
 “ tie, would naturally suggest.” He observed, that
 “ he had many enemies, and that the influence of
 “ prejudice had drawn a reproach upon his character,
 “ which as he was conscious he did not merit, it be-
 “ haved him by every means in his power to remove.
 “ He positively denied every thing I had taxed him
 “ with on the score of his treatment of Hafiz Rhamet’s
 “ family, offering to stake his innocence on whatever
 “ test I chose to propose; and further, as he was con-
 “ vinced not only from my remonstrances, but other
 “ concurring circumstances, that his conduct in gene-
 “ ral, but particularly with respect to his treatment of
 “ his captives, had been represented to you in a par-
 “ tial and unfavourable light, he hoped you would be
 “ pleased to indulge him with the particulars of the
 “ charges which may have been alleged against him,
 “ and at the same time point out his accusers; that
 “ he may attempt that justification, which your satis-
 “ faction, and his own reputation, render so essentially
 “ necessary. In reply to these reflections I observed,
 “ that the knowledge of matters so publicly talked
 “ of could not possibly be confined to the immediate
 “ scene of action; that various channels must have
 “ conveyed it to the Presidency; and the union of so
 “ many opinions would naturally give it credit, al-
 “ though unsupported by the direct evidence of facts.

“ Colonel Champion has informed me, that he has
 “ a multitude of letters from the family of Hafiz
 “ Rhamet, pointing out, in the most pathetic terms,
 “ the distress and misery they are exposed to. These
 “ would be the surest criterion to judge the Nabob’s
 “ conduct by; but while these unhappy people are so
 “ immediately in his power, and no effectual checks
 “ upon him, it would be dangerous to produce such
 “ vouchers.

“ I am, &c.

(Signed) NATH^L MIDDLETON.

Bissoolee, the 5th of July 1774.

Then the witness said,
I do recollect it.

After writing the above letters, had you any reason to think more favourably of the character of the Vizier than is expressed in those letters?

I certainly had; because I found that many of the reports that had been propagated to his prejudice, from the best informations I could obtain, were without foundation.

Did your finding those reports groundless, make you alter your opinion of the duplicity, evasion, and deceit, which you yourself had experienced in most of your transactions with him?

I meant only with respect to his treatment of his prisoners. In other respects I certainly had reason to complain of the Vizier.

Upon the whole, did you consider him as a man of a false and faithless character, or the reverse?

I cannot say that I considered him either as one or the other.

At what amount do you estimate the value of the plunder of the Rohilla country, of which Sujah Dowlah got possession?

To the best of my recollection it was estimated, at the time, at fifty lacks of rupees—I cannot say that that estimate is just; I had no means of ascertaining it.

What rate and rank did Fyzoolla Cawn hold in proportion to the other Rohilla Chiefs?

His rank was superior to any of the other Rohilla Chiefs.

But with respect to his territory, income, and force, how did he stand?

His territory, I understand, amounted to eight or nine lacks of rupees—with respect to his force I cannot speak.

Do you know of any remonstrance made by the Presidency of Fort William to the Rohilla Chiefs, to induce them to pay the forty lacks to the Nabob Vizier?

I do not.

Whether, when you was appointed Minister at the Court of Sujah Dowlah by Mr. Hastings, you had any interference

interference in the management of the revenues of the country?

None.

When you was appointed Resident at the Court of Asoph ul Dowlah in 1777, did you receive assignments upon various districts in the Vizier's dominions for sums due from the Vizier to the East India Company?

I did.

Did you, in February and March 1777, write several letters to the Governor General and Council, stating the difficulties you had in realizing those assignments, and the distracted state of the Vizier's dominions?

To the best of my recollection, I did write letters to that effect soon after my appointment, but I cannot speak positively as to dates.

Upon your appointment in 1777, had Captain Marsack a tuncaw or assignment on Furruckabad for a sum of money due to him from the Vizier?

He had.

Has Captain Marsack recovered a sum of money from you, before or since you left India, by process at law?

To the best of my recollection, he did recover some money, through me, from the Vizier? It was a part of that debt for which he had obtained a tuncaw on Furruckabad.

And then the witness was directed to withdraw.

[Then a letter from Mr. Middleton to the Honourable Warren Hastings, dated Lucknow, 30th December 1781, was read (*), as follows; viz.]

§ Lucknow, the 30th December 1781.

‘ My dear Sir,

‘ I have this day answered your public letter, in the form you seemed to expect. I hope there is nothing in it that may to you appear too pointed. If you wish the matter to be otherwise understood than I

(*) Read from a paper, intituled, “ Extracts from Papers in No 1. Vol. I.) presented to the House of Commons upon the 13th day of March, by Mr. Morton, from the East India Company, and ordered to be printed on the 16th of March 1786.”

‘ have

' have taken up and stated it, I need not say I shall be
 ' ready to conform to whatever you may prescribe, and
 ' to take upon myself any share of the blame of the
 ' (hitherto) nonperformance of the stipulations made
 ' on behalf of the Nabob; though, I do assure you, I
 ' myself represented to his Excellency and the Minis-
 ' ters, conceiving it to be your desire, that the apparent
 ' assumption of the reins of his Government (for in
 ' that light he undoubtedly considered it at the first
 ' view) as specified in the agreement executed by him,
 ' was not meant to be fully and literally enforced, but
 ' that it was necessary you should have something to
 ' shew on your side, as the Company were deprived
 ' of a benefit without a requital; and, upon the faith
 ' of this assurance alone, I believe I may safely affirm
 ' his Excellency's objections to signing the treaty were
 ' given up. If I have understood the matter wrong,
 ' or misconceived your design, I am truly sorry for it;
 ' however, it is not too late to correct the error; and
 ' I am ready to undertake, and, God willing, to carry
 ' through, whatever you may, on receipt of my pub-
 ' lic letter, tell me is your final resolve.

' If you determine, at all events, that the measure
 ' of reducing the Nabob's army, &c. shall be imme-
 ' diately undertaken, I shall take it as a particular fa-
 ' vour if you will indulge me with a line at Fyzabad,
 ' that I may make the necessary previous arrangements
 ' with respect to the disposal of my family, which I
 ' would not wish to retain here, in the event either of a
 ' rupture with the Nabob, or the necessity of employ-
 ' ing our forces in the reduction of his Aumils and
 ' troops. This done, I can begin the work in three
 ' days after my return from Fyzabad.

' I am, &c. &c.

' NATH. MIDDLETON.'

' The Honourable Warren Hastings.

CAPTAIN WILLIAMS called in, and examined.

How long have you been in the Company's service in India?

Upwards of sixteen years.

Did

Did you command a battalion of Sepoys in the Goruckpore district, during the rebellion of Cheyt Sing in 1781?

I did.

Have you any reason to believe that the Begums, and their eunuchs Behar and Jewar Aly Cawn, encouraged that rebellion?

I have very strong reasons to believe they did.

You are desired to state the reasons.

The first instance that appeared to me was a few days after the destruction of the detachment at Benares. I was then passing through Fyzabad—the bearers, which were laid upon the road for me to go express, were taken off the road; and Hoolass Roy, who had the charge of the Dawks, or the Post Office, declared to me that the bearers were taken off the road by the order of Jewar Ally Cawn; and that the regular post had been intercepted from Benares for a day or two: when I quitted the Begum's jaghire, the bearers I found in the road as usual. Shortly after my arrival at Lucknow, I was ordered back to Goruckpore. All the Gentlemen at Lucknow were then of opinion, that it would be too dangerous to proceed by the rout of Fyzabad, and strenuously advised me to take some other road, being well acquainted with the disposition of the Begums at that period; in consequence of which I made a circuit of near fifty miles, to avoid going by Fyzabad. Had I gone to Fyzabad, I have not a doubt but I should have experienced the same fate as my orderly Sepoy did, who was killed; and a servant of mine, who accompanied him, was stripped, and whipped most unmercifully. To the best of my recollection, about the 30th of September 1781, I intercepted a letter at the ferry upon the Rappy, which was inclosed in the hollow of a bamboo, directed to Adjie Sing, Rajah of Guchpoor, mentioning the names of his brothers Perwant Sing and Subant Sing, desiring them to arm all the people they had, and to persuade all the people that were dependent on them to take arms against the troops that were in that country, in the Vizier's employment, commanded by European officers, and to extirpate and destroy them wherever they met them. This letter represented a number of other circumstances,

circumstances, of the misfortunes that had happened at Benares, in cutting off Captain Mayaffre's detachment; and that that was the period in which they might exert themselves with almost a certainty of success. This letter was written by Behar Ally Cawn, officially, as an agent to the Begum; at least as far as I could judge from the interpretation of my Mounshee. To the best of my recollection, about the 8th of October 1781, I was joined by a person called Bridge Bootten, a man very well known in that country, and a person of all others who had it most in his power to annoy and distress any detachment, from his thorough knowledge of the forests and passes in that country, and who could occasionally raise from 1500 to 2000 men: he declared to me, when he joined me with about 200 men, that he had received repeated letters from Jewar and Behar Ally Cawn, the Begum's Agents, desiring him to raise all the force he possibly could, and to exert the utmost of his power to extirpate all the Sepoys in that country; that he had a small pension from the Nabob, which should be increased; and that he should be otherwise liberally rewarded. The Ranna of Bansey joined us a few days afterwards, near Bansey; she declared she had letters addressed to her to the same purpose. During the months of September and October, I received a great number of letters from the officers belonging to my battalion, who were detached upon command, mentioning their having intercepted a number of letters from Behar and Jewar Ally Cawn, directed to the several Zemindars and Rajahs of that country, directing them to collect all their force together, and endeavour to destroy and extirminate the Sepoys and Officers in that country. I received a letter from one person in particular, Bejar Sing, a Soubahdar of mine, mentioning that he had intercepted a Perwannah, with the seal affixed, of the Begum's, offering a reward for the heads of Europeans and native officers and Sepoys; the sums were particularly specified—one thousand rupees for the head of an European officer, 100 rupees for a native officer, and 10 rupees for a Sepoy. I had accounts also from the adjutant and five other officers of my regiment, who were upon leave of absence,

absence, and, hearing of the disturbances in that country, attempted to return to me; they came as far as Fyzabad, and there they found it absolutely necessary to take off their clothes and secrete themselves; and they did not join me till after the insurrection was quelled. They declared to me—the adjutant particularly, who was an intelligent man—that there was hardly a day passed at Fyzabad, during the time that they were obliged to secrete themselves there, that they had not accounts of Behar and Jewar Ally Cawn raising troops, and sending letters throughout the whole country, in order to increase the confusion and distress that prevailed at that period. One circumstance he mentioned to me particularly, that, when Zalim Sing got possession of the guns at Omorah, he fired a salute with them, and the salute was answered from the walls of the Kelha of Fyzabad; that report was also confirmed by Major Macdonald. I remember other instances; but I fear it would take too much time to mention them.

And then the witness was directed to withdraw.

To report a progress, &c.

Y

MI-

MINUTES, &c.

Martis, 30^o die Maij 1786.

COMMITTEE of the Whole House on the Articles of Charge of High Crimes and Misdemeanors, presented to the House against Warren Hastings, Esquire, late Governor General of Bengal.

THE Committee was moved, that several papers might be read.

And the same were read accordingly ; and are as follows :

‘ EXTRACTS of Letters from Sir Robert Barker to
‘ the Honourable Warren Hastings, President and
‘ Governor, &c. Gentlemen of the Select Committee;
‘ dated Head Quarters, near Assurpore, 20th
‘ March, 1773.

(†) ‘ Since the date of my last, a few repeated marches brought me yesterday about 10 coss from Ram Gaut ; and I there received information that a body of Marattas , under the command of Toocajee Holcar, had crossed the Ganges with intent to seize and carry off the Rohilla Haffez Rhamet Cawn, who has been carrying on the same double dealings as heretofore practised by that treacherous sect.’

(†) Read from Appendix, N^o 18, to the Fifth Report of the Committee of Secrecy, appointed to enquire into the causes of the war in the Carnatic, and of the condition of the British possessions in those parts.

‘ 21st March 1773.

(*) ‘ The Rohilla Chief Haffez Rhamut Cawn is
‘ come in to his Excellency; and to-morrow I pur-
‘ pose to give you information what may be deter-
‘ mined regarding him.’

23d March 1773.

(†) ‘ From some suspicions of the treachery of
‘ the Rohilla, I suppose the plan of the attack of
‘ Tuccajee, by the joint endeavours of the Vizier and
‘ Haffez, was not undertaken.’

‘ 24th March 1773.

(§) ‘ The coming in of Haffez has assuaged his
‘ Excellency a good deal; and upon condition of the
‘ Rohilla immediately clearing off the last year’s trea-
‘ ty of 40 lacks of rupees, it has been determined to
‘ afford their families and country protection from
‘ the ravages of the Marattas, of which the Nabob
‘ is to pay the Company 20 lacks for the part they
‘ will take in this protection; but in default of the
‘ fulfilling of this agreement by the Rohilla, his Ex-
‘ cellency agrees to pay the sum of fifty lacks of ru-
‘ pees to the Company, for their aid in putting him
‘ in possession of the Rohilla districts, commonly
‘ known by the territories of Haffez Ramut.’

(*) Read from the same Appendix.

(†) Read from the same Appendix.

(§) Read from the same Appendix.

‘ EXTRACTS of a Letter from the Governor and Se-
 ‘ lect Committee to Sir Robert Barker ; dated Fort
 ‘ William, 15th April 1773.

(*) ‘ We have received your several letters, with
 ‘ their enclosures, under date the 15th, 20th, 21st,
 ‘ 23d, and 24th ult^o.

‘ We approve of the plan formed for the protection
 ‘ of the Rohilla country, and of the stipulation you
 ‘ have made in behalf of the company, for the moi-
 ‘ ety of the sum of forty lacks, to be paid by the Ro-
 ‘ hilla Chief for this aid; and we authorize you to
 ‘ enter into such engagements with the Vizier and
 ‘ the Rohillas; but we cannot as yet agree to the al-
 ‘ ternative proposed, as it might not at this time be
 ‘ discreet to create new enemies, until our hands are
 ‘ entirely cleared of the Marattas, and especially for
 ‘ an object of no permanent advantage to the Com-
 ‘ pany; we therefore desire that you will not engage
 ‘ in any measures for reducing the country of the
 ‘ Rohillas; in case of default of their engagements
 ‘ with the Vizier, before you have advised us of every
 ‘ circumstance, and have received our further in-
 ‘ structions upon the subject.

‘ That a plan of this kind would yield the most ef-
 ‘ fential advantage to the Vizier, in extending his
 ‘ territories, completing the defensive line of his pos-
 ‘ sessions, and freeing him from the most troublesome
 ‘ neighbourhood, we can well conceive; but as this
 ‘ cannot be atchieved by the Vizier himself, without
 ‘ the assistance of our forces, we can never consent to
 ‘ engage in it (although we should even be authori-
 ‘ zed by the treachery or misconduct of the Rohillas)
 ‘ without such previous conditions as shall seem to the
 ‘ Company an equivalent for so important a service
 ‘ rendered to our ally.—And here we cannot avoid
 ‘ expressing our regret, that in the whole course of our
 ‘ allia⁴ce and operations with the Vizier, this ne-
 ‘ cessary and equitable precaution has never yet been

(*) Read from the same Appendix.

‘ sufficiently

‘ sufficiently attended to ; but every measure we have
 ‘ adopted, in conjunction with him, appears wholly
 ‘ to have been calculated for his particular advan-
 ‘ tage : while he thus reaps the sole benefit, to the
 ‘ entire exclusion of the Company, it must check us
 ‘ in every scheme proposed for the success of the cause
 ‘ in which we are jointly engaged, unless some more
 ‘ equal plan of alliance shall be formed with him.

‘ **EXTRACTS** of Letters from Sir Robert Barker to
 ‘ the Honourable Warren Hastings, Esquire, Pre-
 ‘ sident and Governor, &c. Gentlemen of the Se-
 ‘ lect Committee ; dated Camp, near Currambuffa.

‘ 6th May 1773.

(*) ‘ As our letter, of the 15th ult^o, has deprived
 ‘ me of the only means of enforcing the payment of the
 ‘ moiety of the 40 lacks, viz. that of frightening the
 ‘ Rohilla to the performance of their treaty, it is well
 ‘ known that neither promise or oaths have been able
 ‘ to bind this treacherous sect of people to their en-
 ‘ gagements ; their own interests, or their own fears,
 ‘ are the only springs by which they can be moved.
 ‘ I shall wait your further orders on this head, pro-
 ‘ vided they pay not their promised stipulation. And
 ‘ here I cannot but remark your observation, that in
 ‘ the whole course of our alliance with the Vizier an
 ‘ equivalent for our assistance has never been yet suf-
 ‘ ficiently attended to ; but every measure we have
 ‘ adopted, in conjunction with him, appears to be
 ‘ wholly calculated for the peculiar advantage, reap-
 ‘ ing the sole benefits of the entire exclusion of the
 ‘ Company. As this in a great measure reflects on
 ‘ my conduct, and the inattention I have given to the
 ‘ Company’s welfare, permit me to observe, that his
 ‘ Excellency giving the moiety of the 40 lacks, to be
 ‘ received from the Rohilla, together with a payment

(*) Read from the same Appendix.

‘ at

‘ at the rate of 14 lacks per annum, for the expence
‘ of the troops during their assistance in this under-
‘ taking, or an offer of half a crore of rupees, with his
‘ endeavours to obtain a remission of the tribute from
‘ Bengal, cannot be esteemed an entire exclusion of
‘ the Company; and if he has been remiss in the di-
‘ vision, it was left with you, Gentlemen, to propose;
‘ and I am convinced that he would readily enter into
‘ every previous condition, that would secure the Com-
‘ pany an equivalent for this important service.

‘ 10th May 1773.

‘ In consequence of the retreat of the Marattas
‘ towards the Jumna, the Rohillas are but little in-
‘ clined to perform their agreements, and already be-
‘ gin to hesitate.

‘ 13th May 1773.

‘ Haffez Rhamut still declines payment of the trea-
‘ ty, until he can consult the other Rohilla Sirdars,
‘ who are to bear a proportion in it; but it appears
‘ more to delay time, that he may discover how the
‘ affairs of this quarter are likely to turn out. His
‘ Excellency and myself will remain some days after
‘ the troops, that we may use our endeavours to set-
‘ tle this business, if possible; and I beg leave to send
‘ you the copy of the Rohilla treaty, by which you
‘ will perceive how literally it has been executed and
‘ performed, notwithstanding the evasion of their Chiefs.

‘ Camp at Orissait, 20th May 1773.

‘ His Excellency and myself, after staying three
‘ days at Currom Bass, without obtaining any deter-
‘ minate answer from the Rohilla Chiefs, relative to
‘ their fulfilling of their engagements, determine to
‘ follow the troops.’

M I N U T E S

OF THE

E V I D E N C E

TAKEN BEFORE A

Committee of the House of Commons,

B E I N G

A COMMITTEE OF THE WHOLE HOUSE,

Appointed to consider of the several Articles of Charge of High Crimes and Misdemeanors, presented to the House against Warren Hastings, Esquire, late Governor General of Bengal.

P A R T V.

L O N D O N:

Printed for JOHN STOCKDALE, opposite BURLINGTON-HOUSE,
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MINUTES, &c.

Mercurij, 21^o die Junij 1786.

COMMITTEE of the Whole House on the Articles of Charge of High Crimes and Misdemeanors, presented to the House against Warren Hastings, Esquire, late Governor General of Bengal.

CAPTAIN WILLIAMS, called in, and examined.

In whose service was you in the province of Oude during the troubles there?

In the Company's service.

What body of the Company's troops did you there command?

I did not command any of the Company's troops there—I was appointed by the Governor and Council to command a battalion of Sepoys in the Vizier's service.

When was the minute of the Governor and Council for that purpose made?

In January 1781, to the best of my recollection.

Were you not in the Nabob's service before?

I served before in the temporary brigade.

On what occasion were you named by the Governor General and Council to command a battalion in the Nabob of Oude's service?

In consequence of a promotion which took place, and which removed the officers who formerly commanded that battalion.

Who commanded that battalion before you?

Major Lumsdaine.

Did you command that battalion at the time of the troubles?

Yes.

Under whom did you command?

Colonel Hannay was my immediate superior officer.

From what fund was your corps paid?

It is hardly possible for me to answer that question:—the two months pay I received during the time I commanded I received from Lucknow, from Mr. Wombwell; and that was the only pay I received during the time I commanded that battalion till it was reformed.

Was Mr. Wombwell the ordinary Paymaster of the Nabob's battalions?

He was the Paymaster appointed to the corps commanded by Colonel Hannay.

Whether the pay was regularly issued to the corps which you commanded?

It was not.

How many months pay was your corps in arrear?

Sometimes seven or eight months—three, four, five, six, seven, and eight months.

Were your troops very obedient during that period?

At one time they were not.

What method did you take to suppress the mutiny which broke out in your corps for want of pay?

I compelled Mahomed Shuffi Cawn to lend me ten thousand rupees; and prevailed upon others to lend me a considerable sum, in order to satisfy the troops who were clamorous for their pay.

Who is Mahomed Shuffi Cawn?

He was the Aumil of Gorruckpoor.

Whether that money was not taken to make a second payment?

It will be necessary for me to explain the circumstances that happened at that period, to answer that question fully.---I frequently represented to Mr. Wombwell the great distress my battalion was in, not being regularly paid as it had been before I came to the command of it. When I was absent at Lucknow, in the month of August, Mr. Wombwell sent a month's pay for

for that battalion ; it was then, I think, six months in arrear, to the best of my recollection. Upon my return to the station, shortly after I arrived, it was my intention to have paid the battalion that month's pay, as soon as the detached parties could be collected together. In the intermediate time the two companies, which were all that I had with me at that period, mutinied ; and, in order to quiet them, I was obliged to pay them three months pay out of the month's pay that I had received for the whole battalion. The second payment was the money which I borrowed, as before mentioned.

How comes it that you did not before pay them their proportion of the money which you had received for the whole battalion ?

I had just arrived from Lucknow, and had many things to attend to, as I was just preparing to march upon service ; nor did I think proper to pay them till the rest of the troops joined, which would only create a delay of a few days.

Where were the other companies of your battalion ?

Dispersed in commands in different parts of the country.

On what commands ?

For the protection of the country.

Whether the country was in a state of confusion or rebellion at the time that those companies were detached from you ?

It was.

What time were the detachments made---whether before your going to Lucknow, or after ?

Some were made before I obtained the command of the battalion, and some after ; they were varied as the urgency of the service required.

When you took the command, were the districts in which you were stationed in a state of order, or in a state of confusion ?

In a state of order as far as that country ever is.

Answer distinctly, whether it was in a state of order ?

It was : there was no rebellion nor insurrection at that time.

On

On what occasions were the companies detached before you came to the command of the battalion?

I suppose for the protection of the country.

Protection from whom?

From some petty, refractory Zemindars, who occasionally refused to pay the revenues.

Did they assign any reason for refusing to pay the revenues?

I never had an opportunity of asking them that question.

Did you never hear in the country what reason they assigned for not paying the revenues, and for their refractory disposition?

I do not recollect that I did.

Did not you receive information that the great disturbances which happened in your time, in the districts where you commanded, were fomented by the mother and grandmother of the Soubah of Oude?

I did; and in part stated them to this House.

Did not you hear that they intended to rebel against the Soubah?

I believe I have stated, that they not only intended to rebel, but actually did so, by all the information I could obtain at that period.

Did you transmit that information to the Prince, in whose service you was, and whose pay you received?

I did not consider myself as in the service of any Prince. I transmitted no accounts to the Vizier: it was no business of mine so to do.

To whom did you transmit that information?

I transmitted it to my immediate commanding officer, Colonel Hannay, as often as opportunity would admit of it.

Whether any letters had been intercepted, concerning orders from the Begums to exterminate the English, or to that effect?

Letters were intercepted from the Begums Agents to the Rajahs in the country, to direct them to use every exertion in their power to destroy and annihilate the Officers and Sepoys.

Did you see those letters?

I did

I did.

Did you read them?

No—but an interpreter, my own moonshee, read them to me.

Do you understand the Persian language?

Very imperfectly.

In what language was the intercepted letter written, which you have stated to have been written by Jewar Ally Cawn (for it is inserted in the Minutes, by mistake, Bahar Ally Cawn)?

In the Persian language.

Did you ever intercept any letters directly written by the Begums?

No—I never understood that the Begums wrote any letters.

In what manner are Persian letters authenticated or signed?

Letters from and to equals, generally by a seal on the cover of the letter; and to inferiors, on the bottom of the letter.

Could you judge with certainty what was the name or inscription on the seal of that intercepted letter?

I could judge no further than what my moonshee told me, that the letter was from Jewar Ally Cawn—He never deceived me.

Then you do not take upon you to affirm positively, from your own knowledge, that the letter was written by Jewar Ally Cawn?

I can affirm as positively as any thing can be, under the circumstances I before mentioned, that it was from him.

Can you from your own knowledge affirm it?

I did not see Jewar Ally Cawn absolutely affix the seal to the letter.

Can you affirm that it was his seal?

I can affirm no further than what my moonshee informed me.

Was the seal of the Begums to any of the intercepted letters?

To the best of my recollection, some of my officers,
who

who were detached, informed me, that they had seen Perwannahs with the Begums seal affixed to them.

Have you in your possession any of the number of letters which you have said you intercepted?

No—I gave a general order to my moonshce, at that period, to destroy all letters of such dangerous tendency, being apprehensive they might fall into the hands of the enemy in that inclosed country. However, a few days ago, by accident, I found a few loose Persian papers in a corner of a trunk of mine, which I desired a gentleman to examine for me. It has been examined by a gentleman who perfectly understands Persian; and this is a translation of it. [The witness produces both the original, and a letter from Captain Broome to the witness, containing a translation.] The cover of the letter could not be found: Captain Broome, who translated it, in his note makes remarks upon the letter; and I have no doubt that this, from the contents of it, was one of the intercepted letters.

[Then the original paper, and Captain Broome's letter, were delivered in at the table; and the said letter was read; and is as follows:]

‘ To Captain David Williams, N^o 48, Great Russel street.

‘ Dear Williams,

‘ Unless you could find the cover of the letter, it is
 ‘ impossible to know the writer, or the person written to,
 ‘ it being usual to write the name of the latter on the
 ‘ cover only, and to affix the seal of the former, without
 ‘ any subscription of the writer's name, as is customary
 ‘ with us.—It appears to have been written by an inferior
 ‘ or dependant to his Chief; for it acknowledges the
 ‘ receipt of a Perwanah, directing him to take securities
 ‘ from the people bearing arms for their not entering
 ‘ into the service of the Rajahs; and also to send 4 or
 ‘ 500 Nejibs, Sepoys, to the presence. The writer then
 ‘ proceeds to inform his Chief of the steps he has taken
 ‘ in consequence thereof, viz. That he has written to
 ‘ Shah Rahmut Ulla, who was at Bowparah, to take the
 securities,

‘ securities, and to enlist Sepoys; adding, that as the
 ‘ face of things was altered, they would not go to the
 ‘ presence without pay, and that the people of that coun-
 ‘ try were ready for insurrection, as he understood from
 ‘ the letters of Shah Rahmūt Ulla: That Zeman Neih,
 ‘ and other Nejibs, had left the fort of Anowla, and gone
 ‘ to Gorrucpoor; and that it would be proper to send a
 ‘ Perwanah to Lala Begnaut, directing him to collect all
 ‘ the troops he could, and to send them to the pre-
 ‘ sence.

‘ In the second paragraph the writer says, That he
 ‘ has written to Adjit Sing, brother to Souban Sing, to
 ‘ carry 500 Nejibs to the presence; and that if he could
 ‘ not go himself, to send them by another person, and
 ‘ that, as soon as he gets his answer, it shall be represent-
 ‘ ed to his Chief.

‘ In the third paragraph he says, That the 40 men
 ‘ belonging to Musnud Khan, stationed at Oodowla,
 ‘ would not engage themselves, and had gone off: That
 ‘ Sheik Kutti with 50 men, and Iradut Khan with eleven
 ‘ men, were with him (the writer); and as the number
 ‘ was so small, he had enlisted 60 more, who should be
 ‘ sent to the presence. He concludes with saying, that
 ‘ the foot soldiers were in want of pay.

‘ From the purport of the letter it is evident that some
 ‘ one of the Begum’s Ministers had written to a depen-
 ‘ dant Zemindar or Amil to levy troops, which he pro-
 ‘ mises to do; and by his saying that he had written to
 ‘ Adjit Sing to carry troops to the presence, it is plain
 ‘ the presence means the Begum’s court at Fyzabad;
 ‘ for there was no other power that could call authori-
 ‘ tatively on Adjit Sing, but the Begums or the Nabob
 ‘ Vizier. The giving an order to raise as many troops as
 ‘ possible at such a time, indicates an intention to commit
 ‘ hostilities.

‘ Your’s,

‘ N. BROOME.’

Is there any signature or seal to this letter?

I have said before the cover could not be found:—it is
 evidently from an inferior to a superior.

A a

Does

Does it appear to whom the letter was written ?

It appears to be addressed to a person of very high rank.

Then you do not know by whom or to whom it was written ?

I cannot positively say; but I have not a doubt in my own mind but that it was written by one of the refractory Zemindars to the Begums.

How do you certainly know that this paper is an original ?

If it had not been original, I cannot conceive how it should come into my possession.

Is it not possible a forged paper might come into your possession ?

I do not think it likely that a forged paper of that tendency should come into my possession.

From whom did you get the Persian paper ?

It is impossible for me to recollect where I intercepted that particular letter.

Did you intercept it at all ?

I think I did ;—most assuredly from the contents of it : it seems particularly mentioning Adjit Sing, and some others, who were hostile at that period.

Do you at all recollect the interception of that letter ?

I recollect intercepting a number of letters to that purport.

Do you recollect intercepting that letter particularly ?

I cannot at this period recollect that particular letter.

Do you recollect any reason you had for keeping it, when you ordered the others to be destroyed ?

No ; it was by mere accident, I presume.

Did you not make some attestation upon the subject of the Begum's hostility to the Company and to the Nabob ?

I made an affidavit, mentioning that the Begums, I believed, used their utmost endeavours to foment disturbances in Oude.

Before whom did you make the affidavit ?

Before Sir Elijah Impey.

At whose instance did you go to Lucknow to make that affidavit ?

I did not go at any body's instance, I was stationed there.

At

At whose instance did you make that affidavit?

At Sir Elijah Impey's desire.

Did he send to you for that purpose?

No, I believe not.

For what did he send for you?

He did not send for me.

On what occasion did you make the affidavit?

To the best of my recollection, I met Sir Elijah Impey at Colonel Martin's, and he mentioned to me at that time that Mr. Hastings was anxious to know how far Cheyt Sing's influence extended to create the insurrections and troubles in Gorruckpoor and Baraich, and that I should state the matter upon oath.

How soon after did you make this affidavit?

Within some days after.

Where did you make it?

I omitted making it till the very night Sir Elijah Impey was to quit Lucknow; and it was made in a hurry at Colonel Martin's, in a private room.

Was Sir Elijah Impey present at the drawing it up?

No, he was not in the room.

Where was it sworn to?

At Colonel Martin's house.

How soon after?

That very night, immediately; I detained him from going away.

Who was present at the swearing of it?

I cannot positively recollect; but I think it was Lieutenant Morris.

Why had you not recourse to the paper now produced, instead of being obliged to swear in the terms of the affidavit to the reports that prevailed there, when you had a written document to produce?

I was not desired to produce any written document respecting the Begums, and I was infinitely more anxious to represent the disagreeable situation I was placed in at that period, and the difficulties I had to encounter in my military capacity, than troubling myself about the Begums, which was a matter perfectly indifferent to me.

Did you not expressly swear that the intercepted letters were either destroyed or lost?

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I be-

I believe I might swear that I had given general orders for that purpose.

Did you not assert in that affidavit, and in several places of it, that Saudit Ally, the Nabob's brother, was concerned in fomenting the insurrections as well as the Begums?

I did.

Might it not be then that the letter now produced was wrote to Saudit Ally, or to Cheyt Sing himself, as well as the Begums?

No, I do not think it likely, from the situation of the place where the letters in general were intercepted; there were no letters intercepted by me either of Saudit Ally's or Cheyt Sing's.

Have you made that distinction in your affidavit between Saudit Ally and the Begums?

I believe not, to the best of my recollection.

Are there not parts of your affidavit tending to charge Saudit Ally, where the Begums are not at all mentioned?

I do not recollect.

Did you not hear that the Nabob himself was concerned in fomenting those insurrections, and that some of those who were concerned in them quoted his authority?

No, I never heard it.

Did you never converse with Colonel Hannay upon the subject of the Nabob's being concerned in those troubles?

No.

Do you know whether Sir Elijah Impey communicated your affidavit to the Nabob or to the Begums, or to Berar or Jewar Ally Cawn?

No; I never had an opportunity of asking those persons whether he did or not.

Did you yourself communicate any copy of your affidavit to any of those parties?

To be sure not.

Whether a native officer of your corps did not make an affidavit before Sir Elijah Impey, upon the same subject that your affidavit related to?

Several did.

At whose instance?

At mine.

Did

Did any of those officers produce any papers, or intercepted letters, tending to confirm the rumours or reports which they had sworn to?

During the time I was in the Gorruckpoor country, when they were recalled to join me, they produced many papers. The directions that I gave to the black officers were, to make affidavits of what had happened in the country; and the contents of those affidavits I was totally unacquainted with till many months afterwards.

Did they all swear before Sir Elijah Impey?

I believe they did—I was not present.

Do you know how many of them there were that swore?

I cannot say.

At what time did they make those affidavits before Sir Elijah Impey?

I believe about the latter end of November 1781.

Where was Sir Elijah Impey at that time?

At Lucknow.

What motives had the Begums for the malignity which you attribute to them towards the English nation?

It is impossible for me to say; they never communicated their motives to me.

Did they ever communicate any thing to you?

Yes; they sent me a complimentary message when I was at Fyzabad, desiring I would make use of their garden.

When you heard so much of their hostile intentions against this nation, how did it never come into your head to enquire what induced women in their situation to form plans of hostility against the English?

I generally had something of more consequence to attend to—my military duty.

And then the witness was directed to withdraw.

To report a progress, &c.

F I N I S.



MUSEUM

M I N U T E S

OF THE

E V I D E N C E

TAKEN BEFORE A

Committee of the House of Commons,

B E I N G

A COMMITTEE OF THE WHOLE HOUSE,

Appointed to consider of the several Articles of Charge of High Crimes and Misdemeanors, presented to the House against Warren Hastings, Esquire, late Governor General of Bengal.

Part V.

L O N D O N:

Printed for JOHN STOCKDALE, opposite BURLINGTON-HOUSE,
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MINUTES, &c.

Jovis, 1^o die Febrj 1787.

COMMITTEE of the Whole House on the Articles of Charge of High Crimes and Misdemeanors, presented to the House against Warren Hastings, Esquire, late Governor General of Bengal.

NATHANIEL MIDDLETON, Esquire, called in, and examined.

Did you not receive from Mr. Hastings copies of the two treaties executed at Chunar, at the time that you received Mr. Hastings's instructions relative to those treaties?

I believe I did.

Whether those two treaties, as distinguished by Mr. Hastings, the one containing Mr. Hastings's part of the engagement, and the other, that of the Nabob, were one deed or instrument, or distinct and separate deeds or papers?

They were separate deeds.

Was you present at the signing both those treaties?

To the best of my memory, I was.

Was Mr. Hastings present at signing both treaties?

I think he was.

Was you concerned in the negotiation of both treaties?

As far as being present at some of the conversations preparatory to those treaties, I was.

Did you carry on no negotiation with the Nabob, respecting either of those treaties, at which Mr. Hastings was not present?

I do not think I did—but it is still possible that some conversation may have passed, at which Mr. Hastings was not present. I do not recollect that any did pass.

Do you recollect to have stated, in any part of your correspondence with Mr. Hastings, that those conversations had a principal influence on the Nabob's mind, in inducing him to sign either of those treaties?

It is possible I may have stated something of that sort. I recollect, that the Nabob did make some objections to the signing his part of the treaty.

Is the committee to understand, then, that you recollect to have stated to Mr. Hastings that you had held such conversations with the Nabob, without recollecting that such conversations had existed?

It is impossible I can recollect all the conversations I had with the Nabob, or Mr. Hastings, upon the subject of those treaties; but, to the best of my recollection, the objections the Nabob made to signing his part of the treaty, were made when Mr. Hastings was present, though he did not hear them.

You will state where those conversations were held, and what your reasons are for knowing that Mr. Hastings did not hear the Nabob's objections.

The particular conversation I allude to was held in Mr. Hastings's apartment—but it was apart, or in private, between the Nabob and myself, and his ministers.

Whether this particular conversation, which you now recollect to have held in private with the Nabob and his ministers, was communicated by you to Mr. Hastings?

I cannot say that it was.

Do you recollect the answer, or arguments, you made use of in that conversation, to remove the Nabob's objections to signing the treaty in question?

To the best of my recollection, the Nabob's objections arose from an idea that he was making too great concessions—and I believe my principal argument with him went only to convince him, that in those concessions expected from him, nothing was aimed at but the liquidation of the Company's claims upon him.

What objection was there to Mr. Hastings's being privy to a conversation of this nature; and upon what ground did you omit afterwards to communicate it to Mr. Hastings?

I do not know of any objection there was to Mr. Hastings's being privy to this conversation, and I had never any reason for concealing it from Mr. Hastings.

Are you sure that in this conversation you did not inform the Nabob, as an argument to induce him to sign this treaty, that it was not Mr. Hastings's intention that it should ever be carried fully and literally into execution?

I cannot say that I used precisely that argument—but, to the best of my recollection, I did endeavour to induce the Nabob to believe, that the payment of the Company's claims was the principal object of that treaty—and that that being accomplished, the execution would depend on the Nabob himself.

Did you not also use, as an argument in that conversation, that it was necessary, as Mr. Hastings had made so many concessions to the

the Nabob, that he, Mr. Hastings, should have something to shew, in return, to the company?

Very possibly I might.

Do you not recollect, that in a letter afterwards from Lucknow, previous to the execution of any part of the treaties, you reminded Mr. Hastings of this conversation, and that upon the faith of those assurances alone the Nabob had signed the treaty?

I recollect a letter to that purport, but whether exactly in those words I cannot say.

Do you recollect also to have informed Mr. Hastings, that the Nabob complained loudly of the treachery which had been used towards him?

I think I did inform Mr. Hastings so.

Whether you took with you the copies of the two treaties, when you returned from Chunar to Lucknow?

I believe I did.

Did you take with you the originals of the two treaties also?

I do not recollect whether I took the original treaties or not—but some papers, I think, respecting the treaties, were carried by me by mistake to Lucknow.

Do not you recollect various and repeated applications from Mr. Hastings to you at Lucknow for the original treaties, and your own answers and reasons for not trusting them to a common conveyance?

I do not now recollect an application from Mr. Hastings to me for the treaties—but I have a remembrance of an application from Mr. Hastings for some papers which I had carried with me.

Do you recollect your having caused to be made out, and sent to Mr. Hastings, copies of those original treaties from Lucknow?

I cannot recollect that I did.

When did you first hear of the Begums correspondence with Colonel Hannay and Mr. Gordon?

Some time after my return to Lucknow.

When did you first hear of Captain Gordon's situation at Tanda, and of his complaint of the Fougedar of the place?

To the best of my recollection, I received that information at Chunar, but I am not positive.

From whom did the intelligence come to you at Chunar?

I think from Colonel Hannay.

Did you communicate that intelligence to Mr. Hastings?

I do not recollect any particular communication; but I have no doubt I did.

By what mode of conveyance did Colonel Hannay's letter reach you at Chunar?

I believe it was by an express dispatched by Colonel Hannay; to the best of my recollection, the ordinary mode of conveyance was at that time obstructed.

Do

Do you recollect the date of Colonel Hannay's correspondence?
No.

When did you leave Chunar?

I cannot recollect the day; but it was in the end of September.

Do not you recollect, that, upon your return to Lucknow, you there found letters from Colonel Hannay, dated 8th and 10th September, giving an account of the circumstances relating to Captain Gordon?

I recollect meeting letters from Colonel Hannay, on my arrival at Lucknow—but I cannot charge my memory with the contents.

Did you not find there also a letter from your news-writer at Fyzabad?

I do not recollect it; it is possible I might.

Do you recollect communicating the matter contained in those letters, as intelligence to Mr. Hastings?

To the best of my recollection, I did.

Then you recollect to have received the letters themselves?

I recollect to have received letters from Colonel Hannay.

Are you positive that it was at Chunar, and not afterwards on your return to Lucknow, that you received the first account from Colonel Hannay, of the circumstances relating to Captain Gordon and his detachment?

I think I have said I was not positive—but, as far as I can charge my memory, I did receive the first communication of that circumstance at Chunar.

Do you mean that that communication was from Colonel Hannay?—and are you positive that you received any one letter from Colonel Hannay, at Chunar?

I am not positive; but I think it was.

Do you recollect the substance of the deposition you made on oath before Sir Elijah Impey, at Lucknow?

I do not recollect it particularly.

Did Sir Elijah Impey communicate to you the other depositions he took at that place?

I do not recollect that he did.

Did Sir Elijah Impey take the originals of those depositions with him from Lucknow?

I believe he did.

Did he leave any copies of them in your hands?

No.

Did he leave any copies in your hands, or in the hands of any other person, to your knowledge, to be by you, or them, communicated to the Nabob?

He left none in my hands, or in any others, to my knowledge.

Did Sir Elijah Impey communicate the substance of them to the Nabob before you left Lucknow?

I do not know that he did.

Did

Did the Nabob ever inform you that he had seen, or heard of, those depositions ; or held any conversation with you, that argued a knowledge of their contents ?

He did not.

Do not you know that it was declared by Mr. Hastings, that the object of the insurrections in Oude and Benares was, as well to dethrone the Nabob as to extirpate the English ?

I do not recollect that it was.

Do not you recollect to have received letters from Mr. Hastings, so stating the objects of those instructions, and your declaring your own conviction that those were the objects ?

I cannot say I do.

Do you mean, that the crimes which were alledged against the Begums, related solely to their hostile intentions against the English ?

It is impossible for me to say what their object was.

Were not the matters contained in the depositions taken before Sir Elijah Impey, made the principal grounds of the proceedings against the Begums ?

I really do not know.

Did you, in your deposition before Sir Elijah Impey, suppress or conceal any material information relating to those insurrections, or the principal abettors of them ?

My deposition before Sir Elijah Impey was on oath, and I, of course, deposed to what I knew, and only to what I knew.

Did you depose the whole you knew at that time ?

I did.

When was it that you heard from Colonel Hannay the explanation which is stated to have been given by Colonel Hannay to you, of his motives for writing, in the manner he did, to the Bow Begum, after she had saved Captain Gordon in September ?

I heard it from Colonel Hannay, at my first meeting with him, after he had given up his command.

When, and where, was that meeting ?

At Lucknow—and must, I think, have been in October.

Did not you conceive that this information contained matter tending to clear the Begum of any hostile intention toward the English, setting aside Colonel Hannay's comment on the subject ?

I was not acquainted with the particulars of the correspondence between Colonel Hannay and the Begums, until the letters themselves were given to me by Major Gilpin—but Colonel Hannay informed me, that several letters had passed between him and the Begums, and that it was his wish to preserve an appearance of amity with them.

Did not Colonel Hannay inform you of the occasion on which the correspondence passed ?

He did.

Then

Then you was at least apprized of the circumstance of the Begum's having rescued Captain Gordon from a situation stated by Captain Gordon at the time as a situation of inevitable destruction, and that she had caused him to be conveyed in safety to Colonel Hannay?

I was—I received the information from Colonel Hannay.

Did not you state, in your deposition before Sir Elijah Impey, the reports and intelligence you had heard against the Begums?

I probably did.

Did you make your knowledge of that circumstance in their favour any part of your deposition?

I do not recollect that I did.

You having stated that you deposed on oath the whole that you knew, what was your motive for concealing that circumstance?

I had no motive whatever for concealing it.

Did not you know that Colonel Hannay and Captain Gordon had also made depositions on oath before Sir Elijah Impey?

I understood they did.

Did you know, whether or not they had made the circumstance before alluded to any part of their depositions?

I did not know—nor do I recollect to have seen those depositions until I read them in Mr. Hastings's narrative.

Did you ever inform the Nabob of the circumstances of the Begum's conduct relating to Captain Gordon?

I cannot say that I did.

Does your deposition before Sir Elijah Impey, and your correspondence with Mr. Hastings (you not having seen the other depositions taken at Lucknow until you saw Mr. Hastings's narrative) contain the whole that you knew of the conduct of the Begums relating to the disturbance in Oude and Benares?

I apprehend they did.

Do you recollect when and in what manner you first communicated to the Nabob that his parents were charged with such atrocious crimes?

I do not recollect.

Do you recollect that you ever did make any such communication to the Nabob at any time?

I recollect having many conversations with the Nabob on the subject, which he was probably full as well informed of as I was myself.

Did the Nabob, in proposing or consenting to seize their treasures, ever mention, as a reason for, or justification of, his conduct, the rebellious intentions or proceedings of the Begums towards him or the English?

To the best of my recollection, he did.

Do you recollect to have so stated the fact in any part of your correspondence with Mr. Hastings?

I cannot

I cannot recollect that I did.

Do not you recollect, when you first informed Mr. Hastings that the Nabob had proposed to seize the treasures, that he, the Nabob, stated only his necessities, and those of the English, and his right of succession under the Mahometan law?

I cannot recollect.

Did you ever see the letter, which you state the Nabob to have written to Mr. Hastings, containing the proposal to seize the treasures?

I do not recollect to have read the letter—when the letter was delivered to me, I was told the purport of it.

Does not the Nabob usually deliver copies to the Resident, of letters written to the Governor General and Council?

I do not apprehend he does, unless they are applied for.

Have you ever heard any cause or reason why that letter has never been produced?

I have not.

Did you ever inform the Begums, during the time that Sir Elijah Impey was taking the depositions against them at Lucknow, or at any time afterwards, previous to your going to Fyzabad for the purpose of seizing the treasures, that you had yourself deposed any thing against them, or that there existed any charge, suspicion, or proceeding against them, on account of any part of their conduct whatever?

I never made any communication of that nature to the Begums.

Had not you a correspondence with the Bow Begum, in December, upon her first hearing of the intention to resume her jaghires, and before she had heard of any intention to dispossess her of her treasures?

I cannot say exactly when—I had a correspondence with the Bow Begum, relating to the resumption of the jaghires, but cannot exactly say when it was.

Do you recollect whether it was before, or after, the Nabob had been induced to consent to the resumption of the jaghires?

I do not.

Did you cause to be published, or made known, the intention of resuming the jaghires, before the Nabob had consented that the measures should be adopted?

I think I did, before the Nabob had consented to issue his own orders upon it.

Did the Begum, in her correspondence with you, on the subject of the resumption of the jaghires, betray any consciousness of any suspicion or accusation having been entertained against her, relating to any part of her conduct towards the Nabob or the English?

I do not recollect that she did.

Do you recollect that, in the answer to those letters, that you

B

informed

informed her that there was any such suspicion of her or accusation against her ?

To the best of my recollection, my letters to her were confined solely to the subject of resuming the jaghires, and the mode adopted for giving her an equivalent.

Did you then believe that it was intended to give her that equivalent ?

I am very sure it was.

Did not you then know of, and was not Mr. Hastings then possessed of, the whole proof of her rebellion, and intention to extirpate the English ?

I apprehend not of the whole ; some proofs of misconduct were probably shewn, in the preparation she had made to resist the Nabob's orders to the resumption of the jaghires.

Do you not recollect that, in your answer to the Begum on this occasion, you declared that there is no intention to hurt or injure her in any manner, and that you respected her equally as you did the Nabob himself ?

I do not recollect the particular purport of my letters, otherwise than as they related to the subject of resuming the jaghires.

Do you recollect that the Begum remonstrated violently against the injustice of the intention to resume her jaghire, and that she appealed to you and to the English for protection against the measure ?

I do recollect that she remonstrated violently against it, and threatened destruction to the country if her jaghires were touched.

Do you recollect that the Begum reproached you as a guarantee of her jaghires and treasures, and denounced infamy upon you ?

I cannot say I recollect it.

Do you not recollect returning the letter to the Begum, as if you even doubted whether she had written it, and complaining of her violence ?

I have some recollection of returning a letter to the Begum.

Did you, in justification of yourself, even then inform the Begum that there was any ground of charge, insinuation, or imputation whatsoever, against her ?

I cannot say I ever made any formal communication to the Begum on that subject.

Did you, in those letters, make any such communication, formal or informal, or of any sort ?

I believe I did not.

Did not you apprehend that there would be resistance from the Jaghiredars in general, to the resumption of the jaghire ?

I had every reason to believe there would.

What was your motive for causing the intention of resuming the jaghire to be known, before it was actually consented to, or determined on, by the Nabob ?

I do

I do not know I had any particular motive for it; I conceived the measure was to take place.

Did you hear of any intention, on the part of the Begums, to resist the resumption of their jaghires, prior to the first letter ex-postulating with you on the subject, and stating, that she had but that instant received information of such a measure?

I do not recollect that I did.

Did the Begums resist, by force, the resumption of their jaghires?

They certainly did.

Where?

I cannot recollect now the particular places; but, I think, my correspondence will shew it.

Was any battle fought, or blow struck, or blood shed, on that account, any where?

There was not. The Nabob's officer went unattended with any considerable body of troops; and, meeting with resistance, waited the receipt of the Nabob's further orders.

What was the force which seized the Kella at Fyzabad, and dispersed the troops collected there?

A regiment of English sepoy, together with some troops belonging to the Nabob.

On reference to the Nabob, on the first appearance of resistance, what was done afterwards?

To the best of my recollection, troops were sent to enforce his orders.

Did those troops meet any resistance any where?

I do not recollect any instance.

Is not the Begum's having resisted by an armed force, the measure of resuming her jaghire, when no injury was intended in consequence of such resumption, assigned by Mr. Hastings as a principal ground for confiscating her treasures?

I do not recollect.

Do not you recollect to have been in possession of Mr. Hastings's pleasure respecting the Begum's treasures, through Sir Elijah Impey, before the measure of resuming the jaghires had been even determined upon?

I do not recollect whether it was before or after.

Do you not recollect that you had stated to Mr. Hastings, that you should suspend all measures respecting the resumption of the jaghires, as you conceived that the proposition for resuming the treasures would alone answer the ends in view, of procuring payment of the Company's debt?

I do not recollect that particular statement; but refer to the correspondence.

Do you recollect that the Nabob proposed the resuming the treasures as an alternative, and to avoid being compelled to resume the jaghires?

I have some faint recollection of such a proposal ; but I cannot speak with certainty of it.

Do you recollect the date of the letter in which you acknowledge to have received Mr. Hastings's pleasure with respect to seizing the treasures?

I do not recollect.

Do you recollect the time when there first appeared any disposition on the part of the Begums to resist the resumption of the jaghires?

I do not recollect the time ; but it was when the Nabob first issued his orders for the resumption.

Do you recollect to have frequently stated, in your correspondence with Mr. Hastings, and to have congratulated him that the Nabob appeared steady on the subject of going to Fyzabad, for the purpose of seizing the treasures, but that he was still wavering and undecided as to the measure of resuming the jaghires?

I cannot say I recollect particularly ; very possibly I may.

Do you recollect to have stated at this Committee, that the determination to seize the treasure was prior to any steps being taken towards the resumption of the jaghires?

I do not recollect it.

From whom did you receive the letter, which you sent to the Bow Begum from Mr. Hastings, while the troops surrounded her palace at Fyzabad?

I do not recollect whether I received it from Mr. Hastings or from Major Davy, his Persian interpreter.

But you received it from one of them?

Certainly.

By saying that you received it from one of them, do you mean that you received it personally from one of them, or that it was sent to you?

It was sent to me.

At what time did you receive it?

I cannot recollect the exact time, but it was a very few days after my arrival at Fyzabad.

Was it in consequence of any letter from you to Mr. Hastings?

I do not know that it was.

Did not the Begum, until the delivery of that letter, (notwithstanding your conduct,) entertain expectations of protection and redress from the English against the measures then pursuing?

It was my opinion she did expect that the English would not suffer the measure to be carried into execution.

[Then part of Mr. Middleton's evidence, given by him on the 19th day of May, in the last session of Parliament, was read to him, as follows:] (*)

(*) Vide preceding volume of Minutes, printed for Stockdale, p. 105 & seq.
.. What

“ What has that advice to do with disaffection to the British Government ?

“ They certainly knew that the Nabob's treasures, when received from the Begums, were to be appropriated to the liquidation of the Company's debts — this the Nabob had himself declared, when he first mentioned his design of going to Fyzabad : In obstructing it therefore they thought they were doing a disservice to the British Government. At this time also the resumption of the jaghires had also been talked of, though not absolutely decided on.”

Then the witness was asked,

Did you make that answer ?

I did.

Do you recollect to have communicated to Mr. Hastings a joint and solemn declaration of yours and Mr. Johnson's, that you and Mr. Johnson had received no bribe or present whatever, on account of the part you bore in negotiating the treaty of Chunar ?

I recollect a declaration of Mr. Johnson's and myself, something to that purport.

On what account did you think such a declaration necessary ; and why address it to Mr. Hastings ?

In consequence of a letter I received from Mr. Hastings, which I construed as implying some suspicion.

Do you mean a suspicion in the mind of Mr. Hastings, that you had received such bribe or present ?

It did strike me so at the time.

Did you entertain any suspicion that Mr. Hastings had received any bribe, or present, for the part he took in that transaction ?

I did not.

Did the Nabob ever inform you, that he had actually given Mr. Hastings a present of 10 Lacks of Rupees, while he was at Chunar on that negotiation ?

No.

Did Mr. Johnson ever hold any conversation with you, which shewed that he had any knowledge of this transaction ?

No.

Did Hyder Beg Cawn ?

No.

Did Almas Ally Cawn ?

No.

Did Gopaul Doss, who negotiated the bills ?

He did not.

Did Mr. Hastings himself ever inform you of it, or speak to you on the subject ?

He did not.

[Then part of a letter from the witness to Mr. Hastings, dated the

the 6th day of December, 1781, was read to the witness, as follows :] (*)

“ Your pleasure respecting the Begums I have learnt from Sir Elijah, and the measure heretofore proposed will soon follow the resumption of the jaghires.”

When did the communication from Sir Elijah Impey, alluded to in this letter, happen ?

In the month of October, when Sir Elijah was at Lucknow.

You will mention particularly what the nature of that communication was.

It was, that Mr. Hastings consented, that the Nabob should resume his father's treasures, in the possession of the Begums.

You will state fully what was the nature of that consent : Was it in the alternative to resume one or the other, or to resume both ?

It applied only to the seizure of the treasures.

And what is the meaning of the latter words, “ the measure heretofore proposed will soon follow the resumption of the jaghires ? ”

The measure heretofore proposed, is the Nabob's proposal to possess himself of the treasures of his father in the possession of the Begums.

Are you perfectly positive in that answer ?

To the best of my recollection, I am.

When was that measure proposed by the Nabob ?

I do not recollect exactly the date, but a reference to my correspondence will ascertain it.

Then is the committee to understand, that, as soon as that proposal was made, you made intimation of it to Mr. Hastings ?

The proposal was in a letter from the Nabob himself to Mr. Hastings, which I transmitted as soon as I received it.

Did you receive the communication of Mr. Hastings's pleasure, respecting the Begums, from Sir Elijah Impey, while Sir Elijah Impey was at Lucknow ?

I think I did, but I cannot be positive ; if I could refer to my correspondence, I could answer it with certainty.

To what correspondence do you wish to refer ?

And then the witness was directed to withdraw.

And being again called in ;

He was directed by the Committee to bring with him, the next time the Committee should sit, all the letters he had which had passed between him and Mr. Hastings, and Sir Elijah Impey, upon the subject of the Begums of Oude.

And then the witness was directed to withdraw.

To report a progress, &c.

(*) Vide Articles of Charge (printed for Stockdale), N^o 4, respecting the Princesses of Oude, Par. 11.

MINUTES,

MINUTES, &c.

Veneris, 2^e die Februarij 1787.

COMMITTEE of the Whole House on the Articles of Charge of High Crimes and Misdemeanors, presented to the House against Warren Hastings, Esquire, late Governor General of Bengal.

NATHANIEL MIDDLETON, Esquire, called in, and examined.

Have you brought with you any of the papers which the Committee gave you notice to produce to-day?

I have brought with me all the correspondence I am in possession of.

You will produce it, if you have no objection?

I have no objection; it is chiefly public correspondence.

The witness then produced it at the bar; and says—I have looked over all this correspondence, which is very long, but I do not find any here upon the subject of the Begums, which is not already before the House; but I think I shall be able to answer the questions that were put to me last night, to the satisfaction of the Committee.

Whether the correspondence you had with Sir Elijah Impey was any of it by letter, or verbally?

Some by letter, and some verbal.

Can you give any account what is become of those letters?

I really cannot; I thought I was in possession of some of them, but I cannot find them.

Can you now tell, with precision, the period when the communication was made to you by Sir Elijah Impey, alluded to in your letter of the 6th December 1781?

In answering some questions last night, I made a mistake respecting the time of Sir Elijah Impey's being at Lucknow. I find he did not reach Lucknow before the 23^d November, and I had supposed it was in October. To the best of my recollection,
the

the first communication of the Governor General's pleasure, respecting the seizing of the Begums treasures, was made by Sir Elijah Impey at that time, afterwards again mentioned by letter, to the best of my recollection.

How long did Sir Elijah Impey stay at Lucknow?

I think not more than four or five days.

Where did he then go when he left Lucknow?

To the Governor General at Chunar.

Was it from Chunar you received the letter you mentioned?

To the best of my remembrance, it was dated from Chunar.

What is the distance from Lucknow to Chunar?

I cannot accurately say, but think about 160 miles.

Can you now tell, upon recollection, whether you received the letter previous to the 6th of December 1781?

I think I did.

What is the first period, to the best of your recollection, that any resistance was made by the Begums to the resumption of the jaghire lands?

I cannot recollect the time; the resistance was made on the Nabob's sending to resume the jaghire.

After the Nabob had issued his perwannah for that purpose?

Yes.

What particular information was given to Mr. Hastings, of the confinement and other proceedings relative to the eunuchs?

I cannot say that particular information was given; but I apprehend some of my letters to Mr. Hastings will be found to mention it.

When did Mr. Hastings leave Chunar?

I cannot exactly recollect; but I fancy about from the 1st to the 10th of January—I think early in January.

Would you then be understood to say, that all the particulars communicated to Mr. Hastings you think will appear in your letters?

I think so.

And then the witness was directed to withdraw.

And being again called in, he was asked,

Whether Mr. Hastings's pleasure signified to you for seizing the treasures of the Begums, was in return to an application from the Nabob to Mr. Hastings for permission to seize them; or whether the proposition for seizing those treasures originated with Mr. Hastings himself?

Mr. Hastings's orders were in consequence of the Nabob's proposal.

Do you make any distinction between learning Mr. Hastings's pleasure on the subject, and receiving his orders?

In

In that instance I certainly do ; I considered it a measure of importance, and could not have ventured to have taken a part in it without his orders.

Whether the proposition you state to have received from the Nabob for seizing the treasures, was not after Sir Elijah Impey had left Lucknow ?

To the best of my recollection it was.

And then the witness was directed to withdraw.

Sir E L I J A H I M P E Y called in, and examined.

Was you served with the order of the House last night, or this morning ?

Last night.

Did you observe by that order, that you were directed to bring papers with you ?

I was directed to bring papers.

Have you brought them ?

I have.

You will produce them ?

I was ordered to produce the correspondence I had with Mr. Middleton, Mr. Hastings, Major Palmer, and Major Davy. I never had any correspondence with Major Davy or Major Palmer ; with Mr. Hastings and Mr. Middleton I have, and that correspondence I now produce.

To what does that correspondence relate ?

I was ordered to bring the correspondence relating to the Begums ; and every thing which I thought had a tendency to the Begums I have brought.—When I left India I had a great number of papers ; and either not having leisure, or being too indolent, I did not separate my papers, to see which ought to be kept, and which were of no consequence, but ordered the whole heap to be bound up in volumes ; which volumes I never opened till last night—the copies, or rough drafts of two of my letters I have found, but so scratched and abbreviated, that I doubt whether they can be read by any body but myself, or whether I can read them myself ; such as they are, I am willing to give them to be read, or attempt to read them myself.

The witness was then directed by the Committee to read them himself.

Whereupon the witness read the foul draft of his own letter to Mr. Middleton, dated Chunar, 1st December, 1781,

This foul draft was stated by the witness to be much obliterated.

And then the witness was directed to withdraw.

Resolved, That Sir Elijah Impey be again called in, and directed to bring to this committee a copy of the rough draft of his letter, omitting such parts as from marks thereon he has reason to believe were

were not sent ; and that he do return the original draft, expunging also therefrom such parts as from marks thereon he has reason to believe were not sent.

Then Sir Elijah Impey was again called in ; and acquainted by the chairman with the said resolution.

And then Sir Elijah Impey said—The next letter is written with short abbreviations, which I will fill up with what I suppose to be the meaning of them.

It begins D—r M——n, which means, Dear Middleton ; and is dated, Buxar, 9 Decr. 1781.

And Sir Elijah Impey having read the letter, he was directed by the Committee to send a copy of this draft also, in like manner as he had been directed with respect to the former drafts.

Sir Elijah Impey having sent such copies, and returned the originals, the said copies are as follows.

‘ Dear Middleton. ‘ Chunargur, 1 December 1781.

‘ Not knowing whether I am time enough for the dawke, ‘ you must excuse my not acknowledging, as I ought, the obligations I am under to you and Mrs. Middleton, for the kind ‘ attentions I received at Lucknow ; and permit [me (*)] to ‘ proceed immediately to business, which I shall do by running ‘ over the memorandums which you delivered to me.

‘ With regard Fayzullah Cawn, the events which have happened since your last instructions from the Governor have ‘ not altered the Governor’s intentions. He must not be ‘ attacked ; Mr. Hastings approves the subsidy for a regular ‘ military establishment, so that the forces raised be not kept in ‘ Fayzullah’s country, but stationed at Cawnpore, Illihabab, ‘ or any other place not higher [which] the Governor shall appoint, to be nevertheless ready on demand, for the protection ‘ of Fayzullah’s country.

‘ What we talked of concerning the Begums, he highly approves, and would have himself advised. He wishes it to be ‘ done immediately. I need not mention the necessity of taking ‘ care that the money be applied to the Company’s use.

‘ I did all I could in the business of the Nabob of Furruckabad, ‘ and of Ismael Beg. I stated the debt due to Vizier from ‘ Muzzafur Jung, and the certain loss of it, if the power of recovering it was taken out of the Vizier’s hands. I found he ‘ was extremely displeased that Almaus was sent there, and is ‘ immoveable in his resolution, that he shall be recalled instantly ; ‘ the Vackeel had taken his leave of Mr. Hastings ; all that I ‘ could effect was, the Governor’s promise to send for the Vackeel, ‘ and tell him, that all that is due to the Vizier must be punctually ‘ ally

(*) The words between brackets have been supplied by Sir Elijah Impey, in order to complete the sense.

ally paid. Mr. Hastings says he will send a person to Furruckabad, who shall see the balance paid. I solicited this the more strenuously, because I had formerly, at the desire of Bathurst, introduced the Vackeel of the Nabob to the Governor.

I am convinced, that delaying the giving the Governor satisfaction in this point, will only irritate him. He considers the appointing a Suffauwull a breach of his orders.

Ismael Beg, he has been told, and is inclined to believe, was arrested to prevent him getting access to the Governor. He considers his own personal dignity and influence interested; and peremptorily requires, either that he be released immediately, or a fair account be taken. He will, if it cannot otherwise be done, send a person to take the account. This operates in his mind to the prejudice of the ministers, as much as if the fact was actually true. I know how disagreeable an interference of this nature must be to you and the ministers; and therefore much wish you will contrive to make that your own act, which will otherwise most certainly become the act of the Governor. In both these points, he is and will remain peremptory. He has wrote to the Board, and says, he will not undo what he has done. I find the Governor in the same temper, with regard to you and Johnson, which he was in, when I left him; he really wishes you to remain in office at present, and for another year.

If the Governor finds acquiescence in the two points I have mentioned, and he hears within the five days, which you promised, that the Vizier's agreement is beginning to be vigorously put in execution, and has your assurance for the completion, I think the Governor will not go to Lucknow; otherwise he most certainly will. He says he will see the five days expired before he takes his resolution. You will remember that I, as well as yourself, am pledged for the performance of the agreement; perform it for my sake, for your sake, and the Governor's; he will then soon return to Calcutta, where he [is much wanted].

Dear Middleton,

I received your's of the 5th, at this place, just before the dawke went to Benares, and have wrote to the Governor on the subject of it. I suppose the letter will find him at Bidjaghur.

My letter of the 2d will, I hope, have given you some satisfaction with regard to Ismael Beg. Mr Hastings, I do assure you, expressed no want of confidence in you, but seemed to think you was too easy in giving credit to the information of others; the tendency of my letter will prove this. I have only to repeat my wishes, that in future cases I may be able, by

‘ early intelligence, to prevent prejudices which, when once
‘ taken, are frequently difficult to be removed.

‘ With regard to the Jagheers and Begums, I have no doubt
‘ what you say will be satisfactory. Indeed I think the whole
‘ so. I left the Governor, who came as far as Benares with me,
‘ on Thursday last; he had, on what I assured him, resolved
‘ not to go to Lucknow, but proceed, as I much wished him
‘ to do, to the Presidency. He said, he would write to you
‘ to that effect; if he has not, you will take no notice of this
‘ information.

‘ Buxar, 9th Dec. 1781.

And then the witness was asked,

What other letters have you got?

I have looked with the utmost diligence, since I received the orders of the house, which was about nine o'clock last night; and I sat up till past three in the morning, rummaging over all my books and papers, and can find no letter, memorandum, or scrap whatsoever, of my own, relating to that business, but those two which I have now produced. The other letters which I have now in my hand, are letters in the hand writing of Mr. Middleton, sent to me; and I have no other letters on the subject from Mr. Middleton.

The dates are,

19th Dec. 1781.

25th Jan. 1782.

27th Jan. 1782. }

27th Jan. 1782. }

5th February 1782.

5th Dec. 1781. It is by mistake indorsed on
the back 1782. These are all I have.

Two of that date.

The said letters were then delivered in, and are as follows.

‘ Lucknow, the 19th December 1781.

“ My dear Sir Elijah,

‘ I accept the compromise Mr. Hastings has offered me in re-
‘ spect to Mr. Cator, and have this day informed him so. It is
‘ possible, as we both know the Governor is not very punctual
‘ in answering, or even reading letters, that a line from you,
‘ reminding him of the conversation you had with him on this
‘ subject, and pressing his compliance, may be necessary; and
‘ I must further rely upon you, my dear Sir, to get Mr.
‘ Collinson nominated Cator's successor at Dacca, as on that
‘ event rest his hopes of getting rid of an expensive house he
‘ has there; which, exclusive of his personal regard for Col-
‘ linson, I can take upon me to assure you is all the interest he
‘ has

' has in wishing him to obtain the appointment. We have
 ' strange reports here of the disposition of our friend's col-
 ' leagues below, which might alarm a more credulous man
 ' than I am: but I am determined to give no ear to them
 ' until they come to me from better authority. A hint from
 ' you, my dear Sir, on your arrival at the Presidency, how
 ' matters are going on, will be very satisfactory and useful.
 ' You may be assured that any thing of this sort you may do
 ' me the honour to communicate in confidence shall never go
 ' further: your friendship and good offices in this particular
 ' line are of the greater consequence to me, as I have no person
 ' about the Governor from whom I can expect useful informa-
 ' tion, or whose communications I could receive without
 ' suspicion.

' I think we shall yet have some active service in fully establish-
 ' ing the measure of resuming the Jagheers. The Begum
 ' has opposed the Aumil that was sent to take charge of hers,
 ' and vows vengeance not only against him and the Nabob, but
 ' against the whole country, if her Jagheer is touched. Her
 ' own words to me and the minister are pretty expressive of
 ' her disposition, "If my Jagheer is touched, the whole
 ' country shall go with it." She has a number of men in
 ' arms, which has obliged the Nabob to call for the assistance
 ' of another regiment from Cawnpore. His Excellency pro-
 ' ceeds to Fayzabad to settle other matters on the 27th instant
 ' —The Mohurram, he pleads, prevents his going sooner. I
 ' think the opposition the Begum has given to the measure of
 ' resuming the Jagheer, which, as far as it concerns her, bears
 ' not the shadow of exception, as she is to receive the value in
 ' ready money, will be a full justification of the further de-
 ' mands his Excellency has to make upon her. With such a
 ' disposition as she has betrayed, it would be the excess of folly
 ' to leave her in possession of the means of gratifying it.

' The Nabob has withdrawn all his people from Furrucka-
 ' bad, and left Muzuffer Jung in full power and authority.—
 ' Suftûla Cawn, instead of coming to me, has proceeded strait
 ' to Furruckabad, where he has proclaimed his own commis-
 ' sion, and his master's independency, in terms not very re-
 ' spectful to the Vizier.—By his not condescending to take
 ' Lucknow in his way, we are left rather in the dark as to
 ' what we are to do in respect to the Vizier's claims upon
 ' Furruckabad.—They are assigned over to the Company in
 ' part satisfaction of the public debt, but I think I shall see
 ' very little of the sum realized, since I am only to receive
 ' whatever Muzuffer Jung may be pleased to give—he has not
 ' yet told me whether he will give any thing, though almost
 ' four months of the year are expired.

' Mrs.

‘ Mrs. Middleton, who has for some time past been much
‘ indisposed with a violent cold, that has settled upon her
‘ lungs, desires to join me in best respects to you and Lady
‘ Impey; and I beg you will believe me, with the truest at-
‘ tachment,

‘ My dear Sir Elijah,

‘ Your most faithful, affectionate, and obliged friend,

NATH. MIDDLETON.

‘ P. S. I was favoured with yours from Buxar. Cator,
‘ and his wife, desire their respects.

‘ Sir Elijah Impey.’

‘ Fayzabad, the 25 January 1782.

‘ My dear Sir Elijah,

‘ I have the satisfaction to inform you, that we have at
‘ length so far attained the great object of our expedition to
‘ this place, as to commence on the receipt of money, of
‘ which, in the course of this day, we have got about six
‘ lacks.—I know not yet what amount we shall actually re-
‘ alize, but I think I may safely venture to pronounce it will be
‘ equal to the liquidation of the Company’s balance. It has
‘ been at once the most important and the most difficult point
‘ of duty which has ever occurred in my office; and the
‘ anxiety, the hopes, and fears, which have alternately agitated
‘ my mind, cannot be described or conceived, but by those
‘ who have been witness to what has passed in the course of
‘ this long contest.—The ministers have supported me nobly
‘ throughout the business, and deserve much commendation.
‘ Without the shrewd discernment and knowledge of the
‘ finesse and tricks of the country, which Hyder Beg Cawn
‘ possesses, I believe we should have succeeded but indifferently;
‘ for I soon found that no real advantage was to be obtained
‘ by proceeding at once to violent extremities with the Begum,
‘ and that she was only to be attacked through the medium of
‘ her confidential servants, who it required considerable ad-
‘ dress to get hold of.—However, we at last effected it, and by
‘ using some few severities with them, we at length came at
‘ the secret hoards of this old lady.—I will write you more
‘ particulars hereafter.

‘ I am sorry to inform you, my little boy still continues in a
‘ very precarious way, tho’ somewhat better than when I had
‘ last the honour to address you.

‘ My respects to Lady Impey; and believe me, with great
‘ regard,

‘ My dear Sir Elijah,

‘ Your faithful, obliged, and most affectionate humble servant,

NATH. MIDDLETON.

‘ Sir E. Impey.’

‘ My

Fayzabad, 27 Jan. 1782.

‘ My dear Sir Elijah,

‘ I had the pleasure to inform you, yesterday, of my having
 ‘ commenced on the receipt of money; this is only to tell
 ‘ you, that we have gone on receiving ever since, without any
 ‘ material impediment; and if we continue with the same
 ‘ success to-morrow, I flatter myself the great object of our
 ‘ friend will be fully accomplished, and I shall return to Luck-
 ‘ now very well satisfied with the expedition.—In the worst
 ‘ event that can now happen, it cannot be a bad business for
 ‘ the Company.

‘ My respects to Lady Impey; and believe me, with true
 ‘ attachment,

‘ My dear Sir,

‘ Your faithful and affectionate humble servant,

‘ NATH. MIDDLETON.

‘ My little boy still continues in a precarious way.’

‘ My dear Sir,

‘ Finding Cator unconquerably bent on returning to his
 ‘ station at Dacca, I have this day written to the Governor, to
 ‘ revoke the request I made, to have him appointed to Luck-
 ‘ now; which I have the more readily agreed to, from the
 ‘ circumstances mentioned in my letter to you a few days ago.
 ‘ —Cator will depart from Lucknow immediately upon my
 ‘ arrival there; and I at present stand determined to send Mrs.
 ‘ Middleton and the child with him; I must therefore, my
 ‘ dear Sir, rely on your friendly offices, to prevent his appoint-
 ‘ ment being disposed of, which I am aware there might, with-
 ‘ out your assistance, be some danger of, from the circumstance
 ‘ mentioned in your last letter to me. The Governor’s not
 ‘ having made the appointment while out of the provinces, or
 ‘ ever mentioned the subject to me, I conclude of course that he
 ‘ had no intention of doing it until his return to the Board; and
 ‘ therefore take it for granted I am safe in the grounds I have
 ‘ proceeded upon; but it would be a dreadful misfortune to
 ‘ meet with any disappointment; and I must therefore repeat
 ‘ my solicitation of your good offices to get the matter set to
 ‘ rights.

‘ We have made a considerable progress in our receipts
 ‘ here, having already realized enough for the liquidation of
 ‘ the Nabob’s first bond to the Company; and in hopes of
 ‘ getting sufficient to pay off also the second, which is only
 ‘ twelve lacks. In short, my dear Sir, the business has answer-
 ‘ ed the expectations I told you, at Lucknow, I entertained of
 ‘ it, and cannot fail to give a considerable help to the Com-
 ‘ pany’s finances, at a time they so much want it. My ac-
 ‘ counts from my family at Lucknow are somewhat more fa-
 ‘ vourable

‘ vourable than they were, but not such as to remove my apprehensions about the child. I beg my respects to Lady Impey; and remain, with unfeigned regard,

‘ My dear Sir Elijah,

‘ Your faithful, obliged, and most affectionate friend,
‘ NATH. MIDDLETON.

‘ Fayzabad,

‘ the 27 Jan. 1782.

‘ Sir Elijah Impey.’

‘ Lucknow, the 5th Feb. 1782.

‘ My dear Sir Elijah,

‘ I have the pleasure to inform you of my return to Lucknow with a sum of money equal to the liquidation of the Nabob’s debt to the Company. After paying up the arrears of the troops in these provinces, for which they have long been very pressing, I shall immediately forward the residue to the Presidency, and shall think myself happy in being the instrument of affording so seasonable a relief to the exigencies of government. This is all I have at present time to trouble you with on business, but shall write you again in a day or two.

‘ I have the satisfaction to acquaint you that my little boy is much better than when I last wrote you, but still so weak, and recovering so slowly, that an immediate change of air is strongly recommended, and perhaps is the only expedient that can promise to save his life. Mrs. Middleton will therefore set out with him in a few days, accompanied by Cator’s family, for Dacca; and from thence, if the season will permit, she will proceed to Chittagong. This measure, I am sorry to say, is almost as necessary for her as the child; for what with grief and anxiety for him during his long indisposition, and the effects of a violent cold, which she caught soon after you left us, her health is very much impaired, and would, I apprehend, not easily be restored at Lucknow.

‘ I am very anxious to accompany her, or at least to follow her soon, and for that purpose requested, through Mrs. Hastings, some time ago, the Governor’s leave of absence; but he had left her, and proceeded by dauk to the Presidency, before my letter reached her, so that I am disappointed; and must now, my dear Sir, entreat of you this friendly office. I shall not avail myself of the indulgence I solicit, until all the Governor’s orders are executed, and the business of my office put in such a train as to run not the smallest risk of being impeded by my absence. The sooner you can favour me with the Governor’s leave, the greater I shall consider the obligation. Mrs. Middleton joins me in best respects to you and Lady Impey, and I remain with great regard,

‘ My dear Sir Elijah,

‘ Your faithful, obliged, and most affectionate servant,
NATH. MIDDLETON.’

Lucknow, the 5th December, 1781.

‘ My dear Sir Elijah,

‘ I was only this morning favoured with your very friendly
 ‘ and interesting letter of the 1st instant; and I am only able at
 ‘ present, in reply, to touch slightly on the most important points
 ‘ of it. In the first place, my dear Sir, I must beg your accept-
 ‘ ance of my most unfeigned acknowledgments for the obliging
 ‘ and attentive regard you have shewn to all my requisitions
 ‘ and wishes, which are not the less due to you, because your
 ‘ endeavours have not been productive of all the success I hoped
 ‘ for from them. It would be impertinent, and, perhaps, not
 ‘ altogether decent, for me to urge any thing further on the
 ‘ subject of Muzuffer Jung and Ismael Beg. The Governor’s
 ‘ expectations in regard to both must and shall be answered;
 ‘ and my only desire now is, that he will permit the Nabob
 ‘ and his Ministers to make it appear a measure of their own,
 ‘ and not forced upon them by his immediate authority. I
 ‘ feel nothing on my own account for the Furruckabad busi-
 ‘ ness, as I urged it only in consequence of the Vizier’s earnest
 ‘ desire, which I thought extremely reasonable, and made on
 ‘ grounds which appeared to me to bear not a shadow of doubt
 ‘ in regard to justice or propriety. His Excellency only is the
 ‘ sufferer, and I think I can answer for him, that he would
 ‘ much rather have given up his claims on the Nabob of Fur-
 ‘ ruckabad altogether, in his own way, than be obliged now to
 ‘ withdraw his agent, which must lessen him so much in the
 ‘ eyes of his neighbours. In regard to Ismael Beg, I feel my-
 ‘ self very differently situated, for, exclusive of the disappro-
 ‘ bation it was my duty to testify to a conduct so extremely
 ‘ disrespectful and insulting to the Nabob and his Ministers, I
 ‘ could not help personally feeling and resenting the indignities
 ‘ he offered, in the most atrocious and bare-faced manner, to
 ‘ my station. But I must own to you, my dear Sir, I feel these
 ‘ insults, and the triumph which this villain has obtained over
 ‘ me, although it will give a severe stab to the influence and
 ‘ authority of my station, less than I do the mortification of
 ‘ seeing more regard paid to the representations of others than
 ‘ my own, on subjects which so essentially concern myself, and
 ‘ which to suspect me capable of misrepresenting, seems to
 ‘ declare me undeserving of the confidence of the Governor,
 ‘ and consequently of the office I hold under him. I would
 ‘ ask, my dear Sir Elijah, what interest, or possible sinister view,
 ‘ I can have in espousing the cause of the Nabob against Ismael
 ‘ Beg? Had interest been the rule of my conduct, his own
 ‘ overtures, before he had been six hours in confinement,
 ‘ would have dictated a different line; but I thought his con-
 ‘ duct to the Nabob too infamous to pass unpunished; and

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‘ not

' not to have resented his conduct to myself, and to Mr. Haf-
 ' tings, whose station and character he took every means in his
 ' power to depreciate, would have been the highest injustice
 ' both to my friend and myself. If Mr. Hastings cannot yield
 ' credit to my solemn declarations respecting the conduct of this
 ' man, it would, I conceive, be an easy matter to get all I
 ' have said, and indeed much more, verified upon oath. But
 ' after what you have said, I shall never again open my lips,
 ' or employ my pen, on the subject. I feel the disappointment
 ' far more than I can express, but it is only to yourself that I
 ' shall ever breathe a complaint upon it.—I must observe to
 ' you, that I think it very likely the Nabob may again address
 ' the Governor on both these subjects, before he finally complies
 ' with his injunctions, in which case I have most earnestly to
 ' entreat, that you will not suffer Mr. Hastings to suppose me
 ' accessory to it.—I solemnly assure you I will do every thing
 ' in my power to prevent any further delay in the execution of
 ' the Governor's orders, and if another reference is made, it
 ' will not be with my consent.—I shall demand the execution
 ' to-morrow morning—if it is not complied with, the Nabob
 ' will of course dispatch his appeal in the evening, to which an
 ' answer may be received in six days: should the Nabob de-
 ' cline to withdraw his Sizauwol from Furruckabad, and release
 ' Ismael Beg until the Governor's answer arrives, I shall be
 ' without remedy; and I shall trust to your good offices to
 ' obtain me his indulgence, under a solemn engagement, that
 ' the very day the answer may arrive, his orders, be they what
 ' they will, shall be executed.

' The measure respecting the Begums, and the resumption
 ' of the Jagheers, will be instantly adopted. The latter has
 ' only been suspended for the Governor's sentiments on the
 ' former, as the Jagheers of the Begums and their dependants
 ' are the most considerable; and, to have attacked them, with-
 ' out being prepared, at the same time, to enter immediately
 ' on the execution of the grand design, would have been doing
 ' things by halves, and possibly have defeated our expectations.
 ' Do not, my dear Sir Elijah, suffer this delay to be urged or
 ' considered as an imputation of blame upon me. I entered on
 ' the business the very day after you left me, and went so far
 ' as to look upon the matter as finally agreed upon, the actual
 ' execution only suspended until I could receive either yours
 ' or the Governor's sentiments upon the further proposal, which
 ' is certainly of far greater consequence than the resumption of
 ' the Jagheers, as it will do at one stroke, if we are not all
 ' grossly mistaken, what the Jagheers will be at least two years
 ' in doing. To-morrow morning I am to be informed of his
 ' Excellency's intended mode of attack, and shall not fail to
 ' acquaint

‘ acquaint the Governor ; in the mean time you may be assured,
 ‘ that whatever may be acquired by the measure shall be faith-
 ‘ fully and wholly applied to the liquidation of the Company’s
 ‘ debt. With respect to Cator, I will write when I have spoken
 ‘ to him ; at present I have not time even to read what I have
 ‘ written. I shall be happy if you find it intelligible, and I am
 ‘ sure you will have the goodness to excuse its imperfections.

‘ Mrs. Middleton joins me in kindest remembrances to Lady
 ‘ Impey ; and I am, with sincere regard,

‘ My dear Sir Elijah,

‘ Your ever faithful, obliged, and most affectionate friend,

‘ NATH. MIDDLETON.’

‘ Sir Elijah Impey.’

Are you sure you have not written nor received any other letters to or from Mr. Middleton on this subject ?

I am by no means sure of it, and the reason why I am not sure of it is, that neither the copies of my own letters, nor those of Mr. Middleton’s, were preserved with any kind of anxiety or care. It is owing to accident that these are preserved with the rest of my papers—I had no idea they would ever be called for, or that they could be of the least possible use.

Whether you did not recommend to Mr. Hastings the taking the depositions which were taken by you at Lucknow, and other places, as a means of justifying Mr. Hastings’s character and conduct ?

I did not for the sake of the justification of Mr. Hastings’s character, but Mr. Hastings was then writing a narrative of the proceedings, which was, I believe, called A Narrative of the Proceedings at Benares ; I had not read it, but told Mr. Hastings that the Narrative of itself, without having the facts which he asserted verified, might, as he was a party interested, gain but small credit in England—My advice was, to verify these facts, not considering whether they might justify or condemn him.

It appears then that you considered Mr. Hastings’s conduct in that transaction as liable at least to be questioned in England ?

I hope it does not appear that I thought his conduct might not be examined in England, I certainly thought it would be enquired into.

Did you consider these as transactions of great importance ; the transactions to which the depositions taken before you referred ?

What depositions would be taken before me I did not then know—the transactions at Benares I certainly thought of importance—I may add, I do not now know, for I have never read those depositions.

And then the witness was directed to withdraw.

And being again called in, he was asked,

Is the Committee to understand that you did not think the transactions in Oude to be of importance?

I certainly thought the transactions both at Benares and in Oude of importance.

Had you Mr. Hastings's authority for the orders and communications you made to Mr. Middleton, after his return from Lucknow?

Nothing that I wrote as from Mr. Hastings was written but at his express desire.

How come you then ever to consider that papers and letters containing orders and communications by the authority of Mr. Hastings relative to transactions of great importance, and which you was sure would be questioned and examined into in England, to be papers of no consequence, and not likely to be ever called for?

Because I was no official agent of Mr. Hastings's, but acted as his friend.

What was the nature of the communication you verbally made to Mr. Middleton at Lucknow?

Mr. Hastings gave me very short notes in writing relative to the subjects he wished me to mention to Mr. Middleton—I thought I had preserved the paper, but after having looked for it with great diligence, I am not able to find it—I have two papers of short notes in Mr. Middleton's hand, which he delivered to me when I left Lucknow.—These I verily believe to be on the subjects he wished me to talk on with Mr. Middleton; upon looking at them, I see Mr. Middleton must have added something of his own, but the most material I can supply by memory.

You will understand that the question relates to the subject of the Begums; and before you speak from these memorandums, you will answer the question—What was the communication you made to Mr. Middleton at Lucknow, respecting the Begums, as the pleasure of Mr. Hastings?

That I considered as the most material part of what I communicated to Mr. Middleton; but in order to make that intelligible, it will be necessary for me to state to the Committee what had previously passed between me and Mr. Hastings, I think at Chunar; either at Benares or Chunar, but I think at Chunar, as it will explain to the Committee the whole rise and cause of the demands made upon the Begums. Mr. Hastings stated to me the embarrassment of his situation; he had failed of his object at Benares; a revolution had succeeded; he was defeated, from the insurrections in the country, from proceeding to Lucknow; he stated (the facts I do not take upon me to verify) that the Begums were in actual rebellion against the Nabob Vizier; he told me that his whole credit depended on the execution of the treaty of Chunar; that he feared, from the calmness of the temper of
Mr.

Mr. Middleton, that he would not sufficiently urge the execution of that treaty. It had been proposed that I should have proceeded as far as Allahabad, as a central place, for the purpose of taking the depositions alluded to. He afterwards requested me, for the purpose of inducing Mr. Middleton to procure the execution of that treaty, to proceed to Lucknow—In that conversation this passed; and I will not take upon me to say (for I mean to give the Committee the most candid information in my power) whether the idea of the confiscation of the effects of the Begums originated from him or from me—It certainly originated in that conversation. This I perfectly remember to have said to Mr. Hastings,—When you communicated to me in Calcutta your intentions with regard to Cheyt Sing, I declined giving you any opinion at all, because I could not take upon me a sufficient knowledge of the laws of the country to advise whether that act was legal or not.—But with regard to the Begums, I told him (and if I was wrong, I trust to the candour of the House, that they will impute it to an error in judgment) that if the facts he stated were true, namely, that the Begums were in actual rebellion, I considered it to be necessary to the existence of the government of the Nabob Vizier, that he should have the power of taking from his subjects in rebellion, those treasures which enabled them to support their rebellion.—I wish to be understood, though I believe the facts to be true, that I by no means assert them to be so, being not a matter within my own knowledge.—I am now going to answer the question—I understood Mr. Hastings to adopt the reasoning, and this he desired me to communicate to Mr. Middleton, which I did—relating to him the whole which had passed between Mr. Hastings and me on that subject, and Mr. Hastings's inclination to carry measures into execution for the confiscation of their effects.

Did this conversation with Mr. Hastings happen immediately preceding your going to Lucknow?

Almost immediately before I went to Lucknow.

Did you, immediately on your arrival at Lucknow, take the affidavits?

I was at Lucknow, I think, only five days; and as soon as the people came who made the depositions, I took them. I see some were taken the day before I came away.

Was it concerted between Mr. Hastings and you, before you left Benares or Chunar, that these affidavits should be taken?

It was; and I have a copy of a letter with me, which was written on the 15th of November 1781, to Mr. Middleton, on the subject of my going to Lucknow, which he (Mr. Hastings) desired me to take with me; by which it will appear that it was so concerted between me and Mr. Hastings.

Then the letter was delivered in, and is as follows:

(Copy.)

(Copy)

‘ Chunar, 15th November, 1781.

‘ To Mr. Nathaniel Middleton, Lucknow.

‘ Sir,

‘ In your letter dated the 17th October, I find it generally asserted by Lieutenant Colonel Hannay, in the extracts quoted from his letters, and confirmed by yourself, that during the late revolt of this province, levies both of horse and foot were openly made at Fyzabad, both by the Begums and by Cheyt Sing's agents, in his name, and for his use; that these levies were dispatched to Benaris publicly as his, one party of 1000 horse and foot, under the command of Shake Cawn; that Jewar Ally Cawn, in the Chowk of Fyzabad, asked every man who bore the appearance of a soldier, why he went not to Cheyt Sing for service; that Futteh Sah, Ghunooroy, and Ajeet-mul, had crossed to Majowley, urged to that step by Cheyt Sing, who had supplied them with money, and promised them great sums if they would put the whole country into confusion; that the principal Zemindars had all certificates, under the seal of Cheyt Sing, that he would supply them with whatever money they might require for subsisting all the troops they could raise; that it was the general belief of every man in that part of the country, that it was a concerted plan for the extirpation of the English; that the whole country, from Goonda to Maujee, and from Fyzabad to the Benaris district, and across from the Gogra to the Ganges, was in the utmost ferment; that if we met with a check at Benaris, every man in the country was ready to fall on our scattered parties; that the insurrection was not partial, but generally spread throughout the whole; and if he (Colonel H.) might trust to his information, it was already begun, and would soon rage as violently in Shahjehanpoor, Rohilcund, Cora, and the Doaub.

‘ These are facts of such moment to the public service, and so necessary both to the means which may be required for our future preservation, and to the justification of what has passed, and to what may be done to the same end, that I think it proper that they should be verified in the most authentic and sacred manner: I must therefore request and require of you, in my name, to call upon Lieutenant Colonel Hannay, Major Macdonald, Captain Williams, and Lieutenant Gordon, and every other person who may have a personal knowledge or understanding of these facts, or of any others relating to the rebellion of Cheyt Sing, and its connections in the dominions of the Nabob Vizier, severally to depose all that they know and believe concerning the same, either on oath before Sir

‘ Elijah

‘ Elijah Impey, who will instantly visit Lucknow chiefly with this intention, or that they repair to me at this place for the same purpose.

‘ Respecting the levies made at Fyzabad; the march of Shake Cawn with a force declared for the service of Cheyt Sing; the public invitations of Jewar Ally Cawn; the certificates under the seal of Cheyt Sing, in the possession of the Zemindars of Gorooopoor and Barraick; his letters to the Begums or their ministers; the plan concerted for the extirpation of the English; I most earnestly recommend it to you to obtain such evidence as can be required respecting each of these points;—whether such evidence shall ascertain, or refute or qualify their reality; and, if it be possible, to gain possession of the original letters and certificates said to have been written by Cheyt Sing as abovesaid.

‘ You will be careful to ascertain the dates and places of facts, and the names, and places, and persons, in the depositions taken, that their evidence may not be defective or ambiguous from the want of precision.

‘ Respecting the murders said to have been committed at Gopeegunge, I have already written to you, and now send you a duplicate of my letter on that subject.

‘ I also send you the form of a caption or introduction to each deposition, of which you will be pleased to furnish copies to each of the English gentlemen who shall have occasion for the use of them. The depositions of the native witnesses must be written in the languages which they understand, and must be verified on oath, and signed; or, if they shall object to the oath, as contrary to their religious tenets, they must be required to subscribe such a solemn attestation, as shall be equivalent to the sanction of an oath, and add your signatures to it.

‘ I am, Sir, your most obedient servant,

‘ (Signed) WARREN HASTINGS.’

Do you think that you wrote several other letters to Mr. Middleton on the same subject, besides those you have produced?

I believe I did—I have before given the reasons why I did not preserve them—I thought I had no more reason to preserve them than a common amanuensis, not being responsible for the facts.

Do you not know that the Company’s servants in India were bound to obey the lawful orders of the Directors, by the regulating act, of the 13th year of his present Majesty?

Yes, both by the regulating act, and before.

In a letter of the 6th of December, 1781, page 3, from Mr. Middleton to Mr. Hastings, there is this sentence; “Your pleasure respecting the Begums I have learnt from Sir Elijah, and the measures heretofore proposed will soon follow the resumption of
“ the

“the Jagheers.” To whom do those words, “heretofore proposed,” refer?

By hearing the letter read, I refer it to a proposal made by Mr. Hastings, through me to Mr. Middleton.

What was the nature of that proposal?

I take it to allude to what I have before mentioned, namely, the intention of Mr. Hastings to have the effects of the Begums confiscated, on account of their rebellion.

Do you mean, by saying Mr. Hastings’s intention to have the Begums’ effects confiscated, that it was to grant his, Mr. Hastings’s, consent to the Nabob’s doing it?

I understood more; I understood it was Mr. Hastings’s intentions that Mr. Middleton should recommend it to the Nabob as a measure.

Did you understand it as an order from Mr. Hastings to Mr. Middleton, or only as a signification of what might be his pleasure in certain circumstances?

I understood it only as a signification of Mr. Hastings’s pleasure, after a more full consideration upon the subject.

Do you mean a consideration already had, or a consideration to be had?

I am afraid I have not understood the original question.

Was it an order to be acted upon, or a direction to be governed by circumstances?

A direction to be governed by circumstances.

At what time was the proposal before mentioned, and to which the sentence of the letter refers, made?

I was before going to state that to the Committee, but another question interrupted me: Mr. Middleton and most of the gentlemen at Lucknow met me about twenty miles short of Lucknow; I arrived there about twelve o’clock at night; there were tents provided for me, and I slept at the place of meeting that night. The next morning I proceeded with Mr. Middleton to Lucknow, in a chariot; on my way to Lucknow I made that proposal.

What was that proposal?

That Mr. Middleton should consult the Nabob on the measure of confiscating the effects of the Begums, as supposing them in rebellion.

Were there any directions, what Mr. Middleton was to do after consulting the Nabob?

Not that I remember. I understood that Mr. Middleton should acquaint Mr. Hastings with the resolution of the Nabob.

You having stated to the Committee that Mr. Hastings had informed you, previous to your setting out to Lucknow, that the Begums were in a state of actual rebellion, did you find that to be the fact upon your arrival at Lucknow?

The Begums did not reside at Lucknow. At Lucknow I could

no more have a personal knowledge of it than at Chunar; but I was advised at Chunar to avoid Fyzabad in my going to Lucknow, because the Begums were in rebellion; and I was advised by every body at Lucknow to avoid Fyzabad at my return to Chunar, for the same reason: Of my own knowledge I know nothing of that fact. From thence I collect it was the sense of every body at Lucknow that the Begums were then in rebellion; and Colonel Hannay, especially, mentioned to me several facts concerning their rebellion.

Do you mean that Colonel Hannay informed you that the Begums were then in a state of rebellion, or that he only informed you of the facts which he afterwards deposed upon oath?

I do not know what facts he deposed upon oath.

Did Mr. Middleton inform you that the Begums were then actually in rebellion?

I will not take upon me precisely to say that he informed me that the Begums were then in actual rebellion; but that they informed me the route by Fyzabad was unsafe, on account of the state of the country, in consequence of their rebellion, which, to my object of returning, was the same thing.

Did you often see the Nabob Vizier?

I think I saw him three or four times:

Did you ever converse with the Nabob on the object of your journey to Lucknow?

There were several objects of my journey to Lucknow: I cannot say I never mentioned any of them, but I do not recollect that I did, and I am sure I never conversed with him on the subject of the Begums: Mr. Hastings had never desired me, and I should have thought it impertinent and indelicate.

Then the Nabob never mentioned to you that his parents were in actual rebellion against him?

He certainly never did; but it is not to be inferred from thence that they were not, as we had no conversation upon the state of the country, of the treaty of Benares, or of any of the preceding transactions.

Did you ever inform the Nabob that you had taken depositions, while at his Court, tending to accuse his mother and grandmother?

I did not; but the Nabob must have known it, because his Minister made a deposition: I have no doubt it was well known to the Nabob.

What Minister?

Hyder Beg Cawn.

Where did Hyder Beg Cawn make that deposition?

I have not the least recollection; I believe it to have been in a tent at Colonel Hannay's quarters, or it might have been in the house of Major Martin, where I lodged; but within the Court of the Nabob I never took a deposition. I am inclined, upon recollection, to think it was at Major Martin's.

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What

What became of that deposition?

I do not recollect any thing particular of that deposition; but I believe it went with the rest.

Are you sure that deposition even mentions the Begum's name, or contains the least allusion to it?

I am by no means sure of it, for I never read it or heard it. I was not taking depositions merely against the Begums. I do not know whether one of the depositions went to the Begums; and if I had informed the Nabob that I was about taking depositions against the Begums, I might, for what I know, have informed him false, for I did not know the fact.

Then what do you mean by saying you are convinced that the Nabob knew his mother and grandmother were accused, because the Minister had made a deposition; declaring, at the same time, that you are wholly ignorant of the contents of all the depositions?

If upon my evidence I have said so, I am glad the question has given me an opportunity of explaining it, for I meant no such thing. I ask pardon for not having observed that the question was narrowed to depositions against the Begums; I understood it went to taking depositions generally.

Did you not take some depositions and affidavits before your journey to Lucknow, and after your return from thence?

I cannot take upon me to say whether I did or not; but all the depositions I took are, as I understand, in print, and the dates of the times and places are upon them. I took them agreeably to those dates.

On what ground are you so confident that those depositions are in print, and that the dates, names, and places, are upon them, you never having read them?

Because I saw the captions and signatures of all the affidavits and the dates.

Did you never hear them read to you?

I do not recollect that I did. Some may have been read to me, but it was not the course to read them. I took them as Justices in England take affidavits.

Are you sure that a considerable number of them were not deliberately read to you?

I am by no means sure; very probably they were. At this distance of time I cannot recollect. I only mean that I did not require them to be read to me. If they chose to read them to me, I probably heard them.

Then if they were read to you, and you heard them, must you not have been mistaken in declaring that you never had any knowledge of the contents of any of them?

I acknowledge the conclusion; but I have no remembrance whether any of them were read to me; and I am sure I do not now know the contents of them.

Do

Do you recollect whether or not, when the depositions were in the Persian or in the Hindoo language, that they were translated by Major Davy, signed in English, and the contents explained to the deponents?

Very possibly it may be so; but I have not the least recollection of the fact. The explanation of the contents might have been in my presence, or not in my presence; if it was expressed to be done in my presence, it undoubtedly was so.

Would you have signed your name to an affidavit, purporting to be sworn before you, the contents being first explained to the deponent, without the contents having been explained in your presence?

It requires a knowledge of both languages to know whether an interpreter explains right or no. Without that knowledge, the interpreter must be credited; and I have no doubt, nay, I am sure, the interpreter was sworn, and in that case I should so have signed it.

Do you mean you would have signed such a deposition without requiring the interpreter to explain the deposition to the deponent at the time he made the affidavit?

Certainly—upon asking the sworn interpreter whether he had interpreted the contents truly.

Do you not think that it was a necessary precaution, when a native of the country was to swear to a deposition drawn up in English, that it should have been interpreted to the deponent in his own language?

I do.

Was Major Davy with you at Lucknow?

He was not.

Who was the interpreter upon that occasion?

I do not know, but it was a sworn interpreter.

Do you know his name?

I do not.

Who recommended him?

At this distance of time I do not know, but I was satisfied at the time.

Are you absolutely certain that he was such a sworn interpreter?

I am as positive as I can be of any common official act. Although this was not an official act, yet it was in the nature of an official act, that I would not have done it without a sworn interpreter, that being a matter of course.

You having recollected the attestation which you signed to one of the depositions read to you, which there states that the contents had been sworn before you, the contents being explained to the deponent by the interpreter, whose name you do not recollect, do you recollect to have seen any such attestations to the depositions you took at Lucknow?

I have no recollection whatsoever.

You having stated, that if in the depositions taken before you after your return from Lucknow there appears an attestation that

the contents had been first explained to the deponent, do you not admit that a similar attestation would have appeared upon the depositions taken at Lucknow, if the same measure had been pursued there with respect to those depositions?

If it had been so written on the depositions, it certainly would so have appeared.

But if the fact had existed, that the depositions had been so explained, would it not have so appeared?

It should have so appeared, and it is inaccurate if it does not.

Do you recollect yourself to have sworn any interpreter at Lucknow?

I do not recollect it, but I have no doubt but I did.

And you know no reason, but attribute it to inaccuracy, that the depositions taken at Lucknow have no attestation, that they were first explained to the native deponents, and that all the depositions of the same nature taken upon your return have such attestations, and you do not remember the name of the interpreter, nor who recommended him?

I did not know the fact; and if it is so I attribute it to inaccuracy, and I do not know the name of the interpreter. —I hope the Committee will make allowance for the want of remembrance of transactions at such a distance of time. There is another thing, those that are in print are copies, the originals might have attestations.—I do not know that they have.

Do you not believe that the depositions stated in Mr. Hastings's narrative are correct copies of the originals?

I have no reason to disbelieve, but I do not know it.

You having stated that one of your purposes at Lucknow was to ascertain or refute the various reports communicated by Mr. Hastings to Mr. Middleton, many of which affected the Begums; did you ever communicate, or direct to be communicated, or advise to be communicated, any part of the charge, or any one of the depositions, against the Begums, taken before you at Lucknow?

I certainly never did, nor did it ever enter into my imagination so to do, nor did I ever hear of a like proceeding where affidavits were taken; I was not competent to try whether the Begums were criminal or not.

Did you examine any one witness in their favour?

I examined such witnesses as were brought to me. If any had been brought in their favour I should have examined them—but I do not believe any were brought in their favour.—It was no trial upon affidavit before me.

Then you did examine some witnesses?

I possibly might—I do not recollect I did; if there was any thing mentioned as doubtful, I probably did: if it was to do again I certainly should.

If you probably did examine some witnesses, what did you mean by saying that you merely received the affidavits brought to you—

and that you made no enquiry, and had no knowledge of their contents?

I meant to say, that I took them as affidavits are generally taken, which are in that manner—and in that ordinary course if any matter was stated to me, which made it necessary to examine, I should have examined, but whether I did or not I cannot tell.

If you neither examined any witnesses in favour of the Begums, nor applied for, or received any evidence on their behalf, by what means was you to ascertain or refute the charges alledged against them?

I had no intention, nor was it my purpose, to refute or maintain any charge—only to authenticate such facts as should be sworn before me.

Whether you conceive an ex parte evidence of this nature to be proof of guilt in the parties accused, or a just ground of condemning them?

I take that to be matter of opinion, which I hope the Committee, though a plain case, will not think me bound to answer.

Did you give any advice to Mr. Hastings on that subject, after your return with the evidence?

I knew, before they were taken, the purpose of taking them was to have them annexed to his Narrative, and I had advised that measure.—I did not say any thing to contradict it afterwards—whether I gave any specific advice about them further, I do not recollect.

Have you ever read that Narrative?

I think I have not,—but I have heard the facts from Mr. Hastings.

Do you recollect, in a letter from you to Lord Rochfort, of 20th January, 1776, upon an occasion, wherein you thought some accusations were likely to be preferred against you, that you thus expressed yourself, “not only to suspend your own judgment, but to
“intercede for me and the other Judges, with his Majesty and his
“Ministers, not to lend a willing ear to any charges, invectives,
“insinuations, or allusions, in papers, either public or private,
“tending to prejudice our fortunes or fame, before the facts are
“examined, or we have an opportunity of contradicting them, if
“misrepresented. My anxiety must be my excuse for desiring in-
“tercession, in a matter which I know the justice and candour of
“my Sovereign and his Ministers would grant to the meanest sub-
“ject unasked?”

I do perfectly recollect it, and I still continue of the opinion, that it was illiberal and unjust of the Governor General and Council, if they did it, which I am afraid they did, to send an accusation from Bengal to England, without apprizing the parties against whom such accusation was sent, that they might at the same time send their defence.

Are

Are you not of opinion, that the general doctrine contained in the passage now read is just and reasonable?

I am—but I make a very great distinction when accusations to criminate only are sent, and affidavits are taken in justification and verification of facts stated.—I do not conceive it to have been the idea of Mr. Hastings, by annexing those affidavits to his Narrative, merely to have criminated the Begums and other parties, against whom the affidavits were taken, but to justify his own conduct from their conduct.—Had it been merely to criminate and not to verify the facts asserted in his Narrative, I would not have advised the measure, nor have taken the affidavits.

Then, considering the affidavits merely as the ground of the proceedings had against the Begums, are you not of opinion, that justice and candour required that the facts should have been examined, and an opportunity given to the accused of contradicting them, if they were misrepresented, before they were condemned?

I never did, nor do I now consider those affidavits as grounds of proceedings against the Begums. I understood them merely, as I stated before, to verify the facts which were to constitute Mr. Hastings's justification to the world, and for no other purpose whatsoever.

The two following questions, which had been before put to the witness, and his answers, were again read.

“ * Do you think that you wrote several other letters to Mr. Middleton, on the same subject, besides those you have produced ?

“ I believe I did.—I have before given the reasons why I did not preserve them—I thought I had no more reason to preserve them than a common amanuensis, not being responsible for the facts.”

“ Do not you know that the Company's servants in India were bound to obey the lawful orders of the Directors, by the regulating act of 13 Geo. 3.?

“ Yes, both by the regulating act, and before.”

Did not you know that it was a standing order of the Company, to all their servants in office, to keep copies of all their correspondence whatever on public business, and to transmit copies and duplicates thereof to the Court of Directors?

I know of no such standing order; it possibly might be, and I think it probable that there is, but I never saw it.

Supposing such an order to exist, do you not think that it would tend totally to defeat the purposes thereof, if persons not in the actual service of the Company should carry on correspondence between their servants upon their public affairs, which were not entered in their records?

That being matter of opinion, I request to know of the Committee, whether I am bound to answer the question.—I am ready to answer to all matters of fact.

Do

Do you not think that persons engaging voluntarily in any part of the management of the Company's affairs, belonging to the ordinary duty of their servants, should be made subject to the same rules for their guidance, and to the same responsibility, with the covenanted or appointed servants of the Company, whose office or duty they so undertake to execute?

And the question being objected to,

The witness was directed to withdraw.

And being again called in,

The witness was asked,

Have you ever known any affidavits taken, which were to affect any persons in their life, property, or fame, without their having an opportunity of their being acquainted with the charge against them contained in those affidavits, before any determinate act, subjecting them to loss or damage in any of those particulars, is finally taken?

Certainly it would be very unjust, as a judicial proceeding for any of those purposes. And, as a judicial proceeding, I have known no instance of it.

Whether you did not advise Mr. Hastings to prevail on the Nabob to resume the Jaghire, and seize on the treasures of the Begums, on a supposition that the Begums were in rebellion?

I advised Mr. Hastings to that measure, if the fact was true that the Begums were in rebellion—how that fact was to be ascertained I did not pretend to advise. Whether public notoriety was sufficient according to the laws, I was not conversant—it might. The fact being ascertained, I thought the right to confiscate followed.

Did you not think that in giving advice, which must be attended with consequences so fatal to the fortune and character of persons of that distinction, you ought to have advised also remarkable care in the ascertainment of the facts?

I gave my opinion on an abstract proposition. There is no man of common sense or justice but must think that facts must be sufficiently ascertained before they are acted upon.

When you voluntarily consented to employ yourself in an active part in procuring such proofs, did not you think yourself bound to take care that they were good and effectual for justifying the strong act of power which you recommended in the abstract?

I did not take an active part in procuring any evidence whatsoever. I was only ready to authenticate the facts which I did not procure; and as they were never thought on by me to be grounds of proceedings against the Begums, for that high act of power, by which I suppose is meant the confiscation of their effects, I did not think myself bound nor at all responsible for the facts sworn to.

When you undertook to authenticate depositions, was it not your business to see that they contained matter *prima facie* fit to be deposed, and to matters relevant in the cause, both for the sake of
the

the persons who employed you, and the persons whom the employment might affect?

I beg leave to object to this question, and to all other questions which are mere matter of opinion—and upon this ground, that I cannot arrogate to myself, that my opinion, when given one way or the other, can be evidence before this Committee.

Have you not given several opinions in the course of this evidence uncalled for?

If I have, I have no doubt the Committee will not receive them as evidence, but reject them as they ought to be.

Did you not assert, as a matter of opinion, that you was no more responsible in this affair than a common amanuensis?

And then the witness was directed to withdraw.

And being called in again, he was asked,

Did you not carry a letter from Mr. Hastings to Mr. Middleton, recommending to him the taking of these attestations, in which are the following words, “ These are facts of such moment to
“ the public service, and so necessary, both to the means which
“ may be required for our future preservation, and to the justifi-
“ cation of what has passed, and to what may be done, to the
“ same end, that I think it proper that they should be verified in
“ the most authentic and sacred manner?”

I did not carry any such letter to Mr. Middleton—but I was furnished by Mr. Hastings with a copy of a letter before sent to Mr. Middleton, which I believe contained those words.

For what purpose was that copy put into your hands?

To inform me that Mr. Middleton had received such directions before.

Whether these affidavits were not taken agreeably to the instructions in that letter, for the purpose of justifying acts that were to be done, as well as acts that had been done?

I did not understand that letter, or receive it as instructions to me.—I never understood the affidavits to be taken to justify acts to be done,—and I have before said, that for such a purpose I would not have taken the affidavits,—and I know they could be applied to no such purpose,—by that I mean, to no judicial proceedings against the Begums.

Whether the letter you have delivered in to the Committee does not expressly assert, that they were to be applied to that purpose?

That will appear upon the letter itself more authentically than by any thing I can say.

Whether affidavits and attestations affecting the condition of any person with regard to any future act, is not in the nature of those used in a judicial proceeding?

In my sense of judicial proceedings, I think not; and these affidavits were not for the purpose of any future act.

With regard to past acts, by which any persons have been affected,
is

is it not agreeable to natural justice, that the persons affected should have the same means of shewing that they have been unjustly treated, as that the person exercising acts of power against them has had grounds upon which to justify himself?

Then the witness was directed to withdraw,

And being again called in, he was asked,

In what capacity of a magistrate did you act in taking those affidavits?

In no capacity as a magistrate for those districts; but I have understood it has never been imputed to magistrates in this country, the taking foreign affidavits. I hope it will not be imputed to me, if in giving my evidence, I am sometimes obliged to give an opinion; and I hope that if I have voluntarily done it, that it will not give a right to force an opinion if I do not choose it.

Was you bound by any duty whatsoever to intermeddle in that affair?

I was not by any other duty but the duty of a man; and Mr. Hastings was then in such a situation, that I should not have acted with common humanity, if I could have given him assistance and had refused it.

What was Mr. Hastings's condition at that time?

I have before stated to the Committee what Mr. Hastings had himself said of his situation. The Company's affairs were at that time to all appearance in a very ruinous condition: to retrieve the condition of the Company, was the professed object of Mr. Hastings in going up the country; his principal objects were resources from Benares and Oude. At Benares he had been defeated of his purpose; a horrid massacre had taken place there—a revolution had taken place at Benares—Mr. Hastings was lately released from a confinement in the garrison at Chunar—the whole country of Oude had been in arms, and part of it was still so—he was likewise defeated in his purpose of going up to Oude, having obtained nothing for the Company—he had incurred great responsibility from the events that had happened.—That was the state Mr. Hastings was in, which I conceived to be that of real distress.

Whether in taking the affidavits at Lucknow, you considered yourself as trying a cause, or solely as authenticating that evidence which was collected for the use of the Governor-General and Council and such other persons as were concerned?

The witness was directed to withdraw.

And being again called in,

The witness informed the Committee that he had in his hand several other letters from Mr. Hastings to him, pressing him to come up to Chunar; and in one of which letters the witness thought that Mr. Hastings had stated the conduct of the Begums, but he was not sure.

And the said letters were delivered in, and are inserted at the end of this evidence.

F

Then

Then the witness was asked,

What reason had you to believe that it would be agreeable to the Nabob of Oude to confiscate the treasures in the possession of the Begum his mother, even though she had committed acts of treason against his Government?

I had no reason so to think; but if they continued in rebellion I supposed that he would be glad to take away their means of supporting it.

Had it ever been suggested to you that the Nabob had at any time before wished to seize those treasures?

I believe I have heard such a report.

Was it before or since that time you heard the report?

Before.

Were the affidavits respecting the Begums taken before you with less care, and less solemnity, than is usual in taking affidavits before a magistrate?

With the same solemnity, and in the same manner as affidavits are taken before a Judge at his chambers; perhaps with more, as sometimes the Judge does not see the person deposing.

Whether the Committee is to understand, that no deposition was taken unless an interpreter was sworn that such deposition had been explained to the witness?

Certainly—but not from any particular recollection of the fact of swearing the interpreter, but from a certain knowledge that I would not have taken the depositions without swearing the interpreter; and that, whether it appears in the form of the attestation or not.

Was you in Bengal in the year 1781?

I was.

Was there ever a period in the affairs of the Company in which it was more likely that such powers as wished to be rid of the English dominion there, could have better effected that purpose?

With exception to the capture of Calcutta, I believe there was no time.

Whether there was a general belief in the minds of the English, in Bengal, that there was a tendency in the powers round them, to shake off their connection with the English?

I cannot speak very precisely as to the time—whether exactly at that time I do not know; but very soon after that, it was authentically known; I mean the general combination of the Nizam, the Marattas, Hyder Ally, &c.

If the resources had failed for the payment of the army, what would have happened?

I apprehend the consequences would have been obvious—but that is matter of opinion.

Whether Mr. Middleton received the intimation respecting the seizure of the treasures as a new proposition, or as one that he (Mr. Middleton) had before in his contemplation?

I am not certain how Mr. Middleton received it—I understood it

it to be a new proposition. Mr. Middleton did not acquaint me that any such proposition had been before made, or whether he had thought of it himself.—But I must acquaint the Committee, that upon communication with Mr. Middleton to day, he could not recollect whether it came as a new proposition, or whether he had thought of it before—but I have no doubt it was a new proposition.

And then the witness was directed to withdraw.

To report a progress, &c.

Moongeer, 26th July 1781.

Dear Sir Elijah,

I have received yours of the 20th. I have written to Mr. Wheler, and expressed my wish that either you should be requested to cause a translation of the regulations to be made, as your credit is most concerned in its being properly done; or that Mr. Crispe, the proper official instrument, be ordered to translate them under your inspection. In the latter case, Chambers might be employed, the form of office being observed; for I do not suppose that Crispe would either be so unreasonable or so ungrateful as to oppose your wishes in this point. But the first expedient would be the best and the most regular.

I am sorry that I did not make a better provision for this work, for it ought not to be slovenly done, before I came away, by employing young Anderson in it: he is as much superior to Chambers, as Chambers is to Baugh; I mean as to the peculiar qualification required for such a composition: for his study and practice of the Persian language have been chiefly confined to the law books; and the law language in the Persian and Arabic bear a very near affinity to the technical terms and phrases of our own, in which I remember Elliott used to observe that Chambers was deficient. He may have improved, if he has made it his study. If you wish it, I will employ Anderson, who has a salary for translating books of the Persian law. I have not mentioned it to Mr. Wheler, nor indeed to Anderson, because I suppose that, having desired Chambers to undertake it, you may not be decently at liberty to transfer the business to another.

I am not sorry that you leave Calcutta, for I think you wanted it; and our Marian will benefit by it; though I should have been otherwise glad that you could have remained to assist Mr. Wheler with your advice.

I have returned Larkins the papers. I give you joy on Miss Frazer's marriage; it was sudden, and a surprize.

If you leave it to me to prescribe your route, I recommend that Patna be a part of it. I suppose you will take Moorshedabad, Natore (probably) Baugulpoor, and Poornea. I add the last, because you seem to have determined it; otherwise

‘ I should have thought it a good conclusion to your next circuit, beginning with the Dacca division. If you proceed to Patna, we may be able to meet at Benaris. This, be assured, would be a great satisfaction to me.

‘ We arrived here this morning, and I have the pleasure to see Mrs. H. most comfortably, and even elegantly, lodged. I believe I shall allow myself two days to part with her, and contrive, if I can, to do it without loss of time, by sending on my boats, and following them a day’s journey by land. She is surprisingly well. Our journey has been, on the whole, very pleasant and expeditious. We visited Mooteejerna, which I recommend to you to see. We made an extraordinary discovery, that the water of the Cosa was so cold as to condense the air on the glass which contained it, when it was first taken up. Mrs. H. joins me in compliments to you and Lady Impey, and love to Marian.

‘ Yours, ever affectionately,

‘ W. HASTINGS.’

‘ Benaris, 3d Oct. 1781.

‘ My dear Sir Elijah,

‘ I have received yours of the 24th September, and was much pleased with its contents. I wrote to you and to Mrs. Hastings two days ago, and mentioned my desire to see you both here when you might come without a possibility of danger. I think you might now return to Patna, and by that time the road may be open for you for the rest of the way. I will desire Colonel Ahmuty to give you a strong escort to Buxar, where you shall be met by a stronger which I will send you, and I will myself go part of the way to receive you, for I cannot express how much I wish to see you. Every day must now open my future prospects; of which the principal points in my expectation are the conquest of Bidgeygur, and the conclusion of a peace with Mahdajee Sindia. If these are accomplished, I have nothing left to give me uneasiness. Bidgeygur is very strong, and of an excessive height. But it is full of women, and neither the garrison nor the chief have a very strong inducement to hazard much in their defence. In the mean time Cheyt Sing has published, that he has a promise from Sindia of ten thousand horse to be sent to his assistance; I much doubt it, and even the ability of Sindia to perform such a promise. A few days will determine what we are to expect from him, as the terms of a treaty have been agreed on with him, which wait only for my sanction, and that has been long since sent to Muir, who negotiated the treaty.

‘ I beg you will present my compliments to Lady Impey, and assure her of my most affectionate remembrance. I am
‘ happy

‘ happy to read so pleasing an account of your children, and
 ‘ especially of my little favourite.

‘ Yours most affectionately,

‘ WARREN HASTINGS.’

‘ I have heard that they have been much alarmed in Calcut-
 ‘ ta. I am sorry for it. My letters have all been encouraging,
 ‘ and I have been careful not to drop an intimation that I want-
 ‘ ed any assistance from below. In this quarter it has been
 ‘ afforded me with a spirit that fills me with enthusiasm when-
 ‘ ever I reflect upon it. I must quote an expression which I have
 ‘ just read in a letter from Bidjeygur, “ Chunar bears the same
 ‘ proportion to Bidjeygur that a hog does to an elephant.”
 ‘ Coutoo assured me that Bidjeygur was two cose high, and
 ‘ when I told him that the height of Chunar was but 100
 ‘ cubits, then, said he, it is but 200 cubits.

Benaris, 6 Oct. 1781.

‘ Dear Sir Elijah,

‘ I have received yours, written, but not dated, on the 1st. I
 ‘ believe that the letters which I have written since the 20th, and
 ‘ especially the copy of my public letter to Mr. Wheler, will
 ‘ have answered all your queries. I have not heard from Mid-
 ‘ dleton since he parted from me ; but I have no doubt of the
 ‘ Nabob’s return quieting all the troubles at Fyzabad, and in
 ‘ the districts adjoining ; if it should not, the Nabob will have
 ‘ the assistance of a regiment of Sepoys from Futtehgur, and
 ‘ may have Colonel Morgan’s whole remaining force, for
 ‘ which orders have been sent. I only fear for Hannay in the
 ‘ mean time, as he had, by the last account, only two com-
 ‘ panies of Sepoys with him ; I am as little apprehensive for the
 ‘ issue of the irruption of Futteh Saw.

‘ Popham is still before Bidjeygur. He has possession of a
 ‘ hill, distant from it no more than 450 yards, and of equal
 ‘ height. I hope they will not oblige him to use his shells for
 ‘ the sake of the poor women ; and I still think that it will not
 ‘ be defended. Cheyt Sing is gone to Birdee, the boundary of
 ‘ this Zemindary towards Rowa, and lying on the Soan—Ma-
 ‘ jor James Crawford is gone in pursuit of him.

‘ I wait in expectation of hearing that the treaty with Sindia
 ‘ is concluded in less than another week, as nothing was want-
 ‘ ing for it but my credentials, which Colonel Muir had re-
 ‘ ceived, and had advised him of it.

‘ I now beg, my dear Sir Elijah, that you will immediately
 ‘ set off for this place, if you have not already done it. I will
 ‘ write to Colonel Ahmuty to escort you to the Currumnassa,
 ‘ and there you shall be met by a strong detachment from
 ‘ hence. I will also write to Colonel Blair, to prepare addi-
 ‘ tional

• tional accommodations for you at Chunar, for you will not
• chuse to remain here. You will be much pleased with Chunar,
• and I shall have a pleasure in introducing you to the acquaint-
• ance of Colonel Blair, whom I never knew before ; and have
• found him not only one of the most hospitable men, but of the
• best and most benevolent hearts.

• If you can get tents (and if you cannot I can send you some)
• I would advise you to make your journey from the Currunnassa
• by land.

• I like not the coast news, but it tells well in the Persian
• news-papers.

• I desire you will present my compliments to Lady Impey.

• Yours most affectionately,

WARREN HASTINGS.

• Benaris, 7th Oct. 1781.

• Dear Sir Elijah,

• I have written to Lieutenant Colonel Ahmuty to afford you
• an escort to Buxar—I would advise you to come so far by water,
• and the rest of the way by land, crossing from Buxar to the
• other side. The following are the stages at nearly equal dis-
• tances:

• Mahmudabad—Gâzipoor—Pahrpoor—Seyedpoor—Chund-
• rowty—Benaris.

• This side of the river is preferable to the other, because the
• country through which your road lies is open and civilized.
• On the other it is shorter, but jungully and unsafe.

• I will take care that you shall find a little army ready on the
• bank opposite to Buxar, to attend and protect you the remain-
• der of your way—and I will send you three good tents—more,
• if you want them.

• I will advance as far as I may, without giving alarm, to
• meet you. Let me know exactly on what day you leave
• Patna, and when you shall expect to be at Buxar, that I may
• provide accordingly.

• I beg you will present my compliments to Lady Impey.

• Your's most affectionately,

• WARREN HASTINGS.

• Benares, 8th October, 1781.

• 31 years since I first

• landed at Calcutta.

• My dear Sir Elijah,

• I have received yours of (as I conclude) the 3d, and am
• happy that mine of the 28th ultimo arrived, as it appears to
• have done, at the same time with my former letters, in which
• I too earnestly recommended your retreat from Baugulpoor.
• I knew that you would not run any possible risk, where you
• were aware of it ; but as I knew that many of the Zemindars

• of

' of the South division of Bahar were both disaffected and openly
 ' corresponded with Cheyt Sing, I feared a surprize on that side,
 ' while you were looking towards Patna; and the situation of
 ' Baugulpoor displeased me, because it was too far from the
 ' river for flight on a sudden emergency; but it matters not now.
 ' I have written two letters to you to desire you to set off for
 ' Benaris; and I gave you a march route last night, which
 ' I will make more correct. Upon recollection, I think, that
 ' if Lady Impey feels no objection to the fatigue of travelling so
 ' long a journey by land, you will do best to begin it on this side
 ' of the Soan. I shall be able to send tents thither in time;
 ' I am now preparing them. I have written to Colonel Ahmuty
 ' to furnish you with an escort to Buxar, and enclose a duplicate
 ' of the order.

' Let me know your disposition, where you quit your boats,
 ' and begin the journey by land; who are of your party; and
 ' what will be your wants, besides those of camp equipage, and
 ' carriage, and guards, which I shall provide.

' I will furnish you with a horse.

' My reason for recommending an early commencement of the
 ' journey by land is, that you may be protected by your escort,
 ' which cannot attend you in boats, nor accompany you along
 ' the shore in all its windings and interruptions.

' I shall go as far as Seidpoor. If I was not tied down by po-
 ' litical but indispensable cautions, I would meet you at Buxar.

' Adieu, my dear friend. Compliments and best wishes to
 ' Lady I. I am out of patience to see you. I was easy when I
 ' had no thought of it; but now that I expect you I shall be un-
 ' happy till you come.

' Your's, ever affectionately,

' WARREN HASTINGS.'

MINUTES, &c.

Martis, 20^e die Februarij 1787.

COMMITTEE of the Whole House on the Articles of Charge of High Crimes and Misdemeanors, presented to the House against Warren Hastings, Esquire, late Governor General of Bengal.

IT being proposed, That Sir Elijah Impey should be now called in and examined.

Resolved,

That Sir Elijah Impey be now called in, and that the Chairman do acquaint him, that it is possible a criminal inquiry may be instituted against him, for his extra-official conduct, and other transactions, during his residence in India;—and that the circumstances upon which he is to be examined, may probably be connected with the subject of such an inquiry.

Sir Elijah Impey was called in, and acquainted by the Chairman with the said resolution:—to which Sir Elijah Impey said,

Sir, I thank you for your information;—but as I am conscious of no guilt, and have nothing in my conduct which I wish to secrete, it will not have the least influence upon me, to prevent my giving the fullest information to the Committee upon the subject which is before them.

The witness was then asked,

Do you know a person called Suckut Ullah Cawn; and upon what occasion did you first become acquainted with him?

I do not know that I ever knew a person of that name,—but if I have any description of his employment possibly I may know him.

He was Vackeel or otherwise employed under the Nabob of Farruckabad.

A Vackeel of the Nabob of Farruckabad I did know—but his name I do not know,---but I possibly might know his name formerly,---I do not now recollect it.

Upon what occasion did you know him, and when, and where?

The

The occasion of my knowing him I can speak to, and where--- but when I do not recollect accurately.---The occasion was, he was introduced to me by Mr. Robert Bathurst, at Calcutta, who represented to me that his principal, the Nabob of Farruckabad, was under great oppression from the Vizier's having taken possession of the revenue of his country, and he desired me to introduce the Vackeel to Mr. Hastings to tell his story.---This I did; and, as I well remember, in the public audience room of the Governor General---That was the occasion of my knowing him.

Do you remember what was done in consequence of that introduction?

I do not know that any thing was done in consequence of that representation, any more than that the Governor General received the Vackeel---I then interfered no more in the business.

Did this happen before the sending up an English Resident, or after?

I do not know when the English Resident was sent up.

Was it before Mr. Hastings went to Benares?

It was before Mr. Hastings went to Benares, and I believe a long while before.

Did you see that Vackeel at Benares or Chunar?

I do not recollect---I possibly might,---but I cannot tell whether I did or not.

Did not Mr. Middleton make a remonstrance, soon after the treaty of Chunar, about sending this man to establish and proclaim the independency of his master in the territory of Farruckabad?

When I was at Lucknow Mr. Middleton did make such remonstrance; and at the same time added, that the Nabob of Farruckabad was indebted I think to the amount of nine lack of rupees to the Vizier, which he said would be lost to the Vizier if that measure was carried into execution. This he desired me to represent to Mr. Hastings.---I did--and Mr. Hastings said that he would take care that that money should be secured to the Vizier---of which I informed Mr. Middleton.

What steps did Mr. Hastings take in consequence of that representation from Mr. Middleton?

I do not know what he did.

Whether the Vizier had not actually sent Almas Ali Cawn, or some other sequester, into the country, between the signing of the treaty of Chunar, and the declaring the independence of the Nabob of Farruckabad?

I have heard Almas Ali Cawn was sent---but I know nothing of the fact,--nor do I know whether it was between the signing of the treaty of Chunar, and such a declaration, if such declaration of the independence of the Nabob was made.

Have you not produced a letter to this Committee, from Mr. Middleton to you, in which are these words; "Suckut Ullah Cawn, instead of coming to me, has proceeded strait to Farruckabad,

“ ruckabad, where he has proclaimed his own commission, and
 “ his master's independency, in terms not very respectful to the
 “ Vizier ?”

I beg leave to refer to the letters I have produced ; for I do not remember accurately their contents.

Whether the Vizier did not, besides the object of the debts, consider the removal of his people as an infringement of an article in the treaty of Chunar ?

I never had any conversation with the Vizier on the subject, and know nothing how he considered it.

Did not Mr. Hastings insist on the Nabob Vizier recalling Almas Ali Cawn from that country ?

As well as I recollect, I think he did.

Upon what principle did he justify that mandate ?

I have not at this time any recollection whether I have heard him justify it or not :—If he did, and I knew it, his reasons are most probably contained in the letter I wrote to Mr. Middleton on that subject, and now before the Committee.

Are you sure then, that any reason is assigned in your letter for Mr. Hastings's persevering in those orders ?

I am by no means sure.

Whether you was not employed to solicit this business on the part of the Nabob, or of Mr. Middleton ?

Mr. Middleton desired me to make this representation—that representation I made—that was the whole of my employment or soliciting.

Did not you in your letter say that you did all you could in that business ?

I possibly did—and I have told the Committee all I could do.

Whether you never heard Mr. Hastings assign any reason for this peremptory resolution ?

I do not recollect any further reason than his considering it as done in contravention of his orders.

When did he give those orders ?

Whether he gave orders or not I cannot tell—but I understood he considered it as contrary to some orders he had given.

To whom did he give those orders ?

I have before said, I did not know he had given any orders at all.

Did not you declare, in a letter to Mr. Middleton, that you considered yourself, as well as Mr. Middleton, to be pledged for the performance of the agreement between Mr. Hastings and the Vizier ?

I, having related to Mr. Hastings the assurances Mr. Middleton had given, that the treaty of Chunar should be carried into execution, and having added, that I was sure Mr. Middleton was sincere in those assurances, believe I wrote something to that effect.

Did not you write that you considered yourself as pledged to the execution of the treaty of Chunar ?

My letter is on the table of the Committee :—I have said I wrote to that effect—the words I do not remember.

Confi-

Considering yourself as pledged to the execution of the treaty of Chunar, why did you never ask Mr. Hastings his reasons for acting in a point relating to a principal branch of that treaty?

Mr. Hastings was very anxious that the treaty of Chunar should be carried into execution—he said, he thought his whole credit and reputation depended upon it.—I was desired to press Mr. Middleton to get that whole treaty carried into execution.—I never conversed, either with the Governor or Mr. Middleton, on the treaty, article by article, but only pressed Mr. Middleton that the whole of it might be executed.

Is there any thing in the treaty of Chunar which enabled Mr. Hastings to order the recall of the Nabob's officer from Farruckabad?

And the question being objected to;

The witness was directed to withdraw.

And being again called in;

He was asked,

Did Mr. Hastings assign any reason, grounded by him on the treaty of Chunar, to justify the order he had given for the recall of the Vizier's officer from Farruckabad?

Not as I recollect.

Did not Mr. Hastings give an order for the release from imprisonment of a person called Ismael Beg, whom the Vizier had ordered to be confined?

And the question being objected to;

The witness was directed to withdraw.

And being again called in;

The question was repeated.

Whether the Vizier had ordered him to be confined, I do not know—but Mr. Hastings gave directions for the release of a person called Ismael Beg—I should imagine he did not think him imprisoned by the Vizier;—for the reason he gave for ordering Ismael Beg to be released was this—that he understood Ismael Beg was coming to him to make some remonstrances, and that he had been imprisoned at Lucknow, to prevent his coming for that purpose.

Imprisoned by whom, and by whose authority?

I understood under the authority of the Nabob, made use of, I believe, by Hyder Beg.

Was it common for Hyder Beg to make use of the Nabob's authority without his consent?

And the question being objected to;

The witness was directed to withdraw.

And being again called in;

The question was repeated.

I know nothing of Hyder Beg's conduct.

Did not Mr. Middleton represent to Mr. Hastings, through you, that he must consider the execution of those orders relating to Ismael Beg to have an effect that would tend to render the Nabob less respected in the eyes of his people?

I do not recollect, but I rather think he did.

Did not Mr. Middleton represent Ismael Beg as a villain that had obtained a triumph over him, and that it had given a severe stab to the influence and authority of his station?

I recollect, upon the question being put in this manner, such expressions were used in some letters of Mr. Middleton.

You being employed to make representations to that effect, what reason did Mr. Hastings give for persevering in his resolution to free a person, so described by the Resident, from an imprisonment inflicted by the ordinary authority of the country?

I am extremely desirous of giving every information to the Committee in my power; but as it has been intimated to me by the Chairman of the Committee, that there is an intention of preferring a criminal accusation against me, and that the matters which are involved in the present inquiry may be part of that accusation, I do not know how far the force of the word *employed* may in the sense of the Committee involve me. I have no objection to explain *how employed*, but with the generality of the word not to be carried farther than the truth of the case. To the fact I am ready to answer.—I have the same objection to make to the frequent repetitions of the word *solicit*, because I do not mean to admit myself before this house to be a solicitor or common agent in this business.—The reason, as well as I can recollect at this distance of time, that Mr. Hastings assigned for interfering in the release of Ismael Beg, was what I have before related, and, if the Committee desire it, will relate again—That he understood that Ismael Beg was coming from Lucknow to him to prefer complaints, and that his imprisonment was merely for the purpose of preventing his preferring those complaints. This I think I stated in my letter; and I think I added, that whether that fact was true or not, Mr. Hastings was so well convinced of it, that it operated on his mind as if it was true. I know no other reason for Mr. Hastings's interfering.

Did the Nabob, or Mr. Middleton, admit the truth of this allegation of Mr. Hastings?

Whether the Nabob knew of it I cannot tell—Mr. Middleton certainly did not admit it.

Did not Mr. Middleton state, that this man's conduct to the Nabob had been infamous?

I believe he did.

Did he not offer to get the particulars verified upon oath?

I rather believe that he did—all I know of it is from Mr. Middleton's letters, which are before the House.

Whether Mr. Middleton did not inform you that the Nabob would probably write to Mr. Hastings himself, before he finally complied with his, Mr. Hastings's injunctions?

If he did, it was by letters which are before the House, and to which I desire to refer—I am very much afraid, not having perfect recollection of the letters, of saying any thing contradictory to them.

Then

Then the witness was directed to withdraw.

And being again called in ;

The witness was asked,

Did you represent to Mr. Hastings the matters which were contained in those letters ?

I take it for granted I did.

What did Mr. Hastings do in consequence of that representation relative to Ismael Beg ?

Mr. Hastings frequently pressed for the release of Ismael Beg.—What further was done I do not recollect—if any thing further was done without my knowledge, it will appear on the face of the letters, to which I beg leave to refer.

Is there any answer amongst the letters from you to Mr. Middleton's last representations ?

I beg to refer to the letters.

Was any thing done in consequence of that representation ?

I do not know.

Was Ismael Beg released ?

I really do not recollect whether he was or was not—I have not even at present an opinion on that subject.—I should rather think Mr. Hastings's authority was yielded to on that occasion ; but I do not know.

When was Mr. Shee appointed Resident at Farruckabad ?

I know he was appointed Resident, but when I do not recollect—It was before the treaty of Chunar.

Was you at Calcutta when Mr. Shee's appointment took place ?

I dare say I was, but I do not recollect—as I was chiefly resident at Calcutta, I dare say I was.

Did you ever converse with Mr. Hastings on that subject ?

To the best of my recollection I never did.

Do you know whether, antecedent to such appointment, Mr. Hastings had, or had not expressed a disinclination to interfere in the nomination of a Resident at Farruckabad ?

I do not recollect having had any conversation, or hearing any thing upon the subject.

Do you know what was the immediate reason of naming Mr. Shee to that appointment ?

Of my own knowledge I cannot say ; and what I have heard I would rather wish, if the question is not pressed, not to answer, as it may be a reflection upon a gentleman, upon whom, standing as I do, he would be the last man I would throw a reflection.

And then the witness was directed to withdraw.

NATHANIEL MIDDLETON, Esq. called in and examined.

Do you know whether, soon after the treaty of Chunar had passed, the Vizier did not name Almas Ali Cawn, or some Seza-waul, to Farruckabad ?

He did.

How

How soon after?

I think in about three weeks after, to the best of my recollection.

Did the Vizier consider himself as entitled to do so under the treaty of Chunar?

I have no doubt but he did.

Did not Mr. Hastings direct that the Sezawaul should be recalled?

Yes—he did.

—How soon after the appointment?

I do not recollect exactly the time, but very soon after the appointment was made.

Did not the Vizier consider this recall as an infringement of the treaty of Chunar?

I do not know whether he did or not; but he remonstrated against it, because he conceived it would be giving up the means of collecting his tribute.

Did he not consider the manner of doing it as a great indignity to himself, and as a matter forced upon him?

He certainly complained violently against it; and it was much against his inclination that the Sezawaul was withdrawn.

What motives were assigned by Mr. Hastings for withdrawing the Vizier's Sezawaul?

To leave the Nabob Muzzuffer Jung to pay his tribute through his own officers.

What answer did Mr. Hastings make to the frequent representations that you made to him on that subject?

I do not recollect any particular answer he made, but that the tribute would be paid through the Nabob Muzzuffer Jung's own officers.

Did not Mr. Hastings render himself responsible that that tribute should be paid?

As far as assurances would do it, he did.

Whether Mr. Hastings did not appoint a person of that country, called Suckut Ullah Cawn, or some such name, to the management of the Nabob Muzzuffer Jung's affairs?

I do not know that Mr. Hastings appointed him, but I have a recollection he informed me that that person was to come to Lucknow for the purpose of settling the Vizier's tribute.—It either came to me from Mr. Hastings immediately, or from him through Sir Elijah Impey.

Did Suckut Ullah Cawn come to Lucknow, agreeable to the information you received?

He did not.

When you, in your letter to Sir Elijah Impey, mention that Suckut Ullah Cawn proclaimed his own commission on his going from Mr. Hastings to Farruckabad, what commission did you mean?

His commission of Superintendant of Naib or Minister to the Nabob Muzzuffer Jung.

From

From whom did he receive that commission?

I do not know—nor do I know he had such a commission at all.

Did he not proclaim that he had such a commission?

He certainly did according to the accounts I received from Farruckabad.

If he had such a commission, do not you think that he meant to have it understood that he had it from Mr. Hastings?

I think he meant to have it understood that he had it from Mr. Hastings.

How long did Suckut Ullah Cawn continue in possession of the Naibut before the return of the Sezawaul on the part of the Vizier?

I think till the month of July, 1782, or thereabouts.

By whose authority was he then removed?

By a letter from the Governor General and Council, which directed that effectual assistance should be given to the Vizier for the recovery of his claims on Farruckabad.

How long did that Sezawaul continue in possession?

I cannot say—he was appointed when I was absent from Lucknow, and he remained in that office when I was recalled from Lucknow.

Was there any complaint on the part of Muzzuffer Jung, or any of his relations, of oppressions exercised in the country, or indignities offered to their family by the Vizier's Sezawaul?

I cannot say I recollect any.

Did you ever hear of any such complaints being made?

I think I have heard that complaints were made to Mr. Hastings.

What did Mr. Hastings do in consequence of those complaints?

It is probable, in consequence of those complaints, the Sezawaul was ordered to be recalled—but I speak without any positive knowledge of the fact.

Do you know of any, and what, complaints which were made against Mr. Shee, the company's resident, whilst he continued at Farruckabad?

I cannot say that I myself know of any—I have heard it, but only from mere reports, which I think it unnecessary to trouble the Committee with.

Do you think Mr. Hastings heard of those reports?

I apprehend Mr. Hastings must have heard of those complaints, as the Nabob Muzzuffer Jung had a Vakeel at Calcutta with him.

Were any complaints made by the Nabob Muzzuffer Jung against Mr. Shee, which were transmitted to the Vizier, and by him communicated to you?

I do not recollect that any were communicated to me.

Do you know any other channel by which the Vizier communicated any such complaints to Mr. Hastings?

I do not know that he did by any other channel, but he had a Vakeel at Calcutta through whom he might have communicated them.

Do

Do you know that in fact any such complaints were communicated?

I do not, of my own knowledge, know that there were.

Do you know it by any other, and what information?

To the best of my recollection I have heard that complaints were made; but I cannot recollect the particular instances, nor through what channel.

Are you sure it was not from Mr. Hastings's printed observations on the treaty at Chunar, in some publication?

It is impossible to say through what channel they were made—in short, I have no knowledge of any complaints being made.

Did Mr. Hastings ever instruct you, either by letter or verbal direction, either at Chunar or elsewhere, to set on foot an enquiry into the truth or falsehood of those rumoured charges?

He certainly did not.

Have you in your possession any correspondence relative to the affairs of Farruckabad?

I do not know that I have.

You will be pleased to answer that question directly.

I have some copies of letters, but whether they respect Farruckabad or no I cannot say.

You will say upon what account Ismael Beg was imprisoned at Lucknow?

As I understood it—for a balance of his revenues.

Was it by the Vizier's authority that he was confined?

Certainly.

And with his knowledge and approbation?

Certainly.

Had he behaved himself dutifully and respectfully to the Nabob Vizier?

I never heard any complaints against him for a contrary conduct to the Nabob, as I recollect.

Was Ismael Beg's conduct in any respect disrespectful or insulting to the Nabob, or do you mean that Mr. Hastings's order to free him from imprisonment was disrespectful or insulting to the Nabob and his Ministers?

I do not know of any Instance of his insulting conduct to the Nabob before the occasion for which he was put into confinement.

Was it so afterwards?

My informations were chiefly from the Nabob himself, and I think I transmitted the Nabob's letters on that subject to Mr. Hastings; and I hope the Committee will permit me to refer to those letters, as I really cannot charge my memory with circumstances of so long a date.

Did the Nabob Vizier, in fact, himself complain to you of such insolence of Ismael Beg?

To the best of my recollection he did, as also his Minister upon that occasion.

Did

Did you think Ismael Beg a man of good or evil character, fit to be trusted or not?

I certainly thought him very trust-worthy, and was myself in some measure instrumental in recommending him to the farm of Allahabad.

Did you always persevere in that opinion?

I believe I did, till he failed in his engagements with the Vizier.

Did you think him blameable in that respect?

I certainly did.

Was his conduct to you or Mr. Hastings improper?

I certainly thought so.

Did he endeavour to depreciate Mr. Hastings's character?

I understood he did.

In what manner?

I do not know that he endeavoured to depreciate his character, but he propagated reports of his being superseded in the Government, and endeavoured to prejudice his influence at the Vizier's Court.

What reasons did Mr. Hastings assign for ordering him to be freed from his confinement?

I cannot say I recollect the particular reasons he assigned.

Did he assign any reason against the fairness of the accounts, for not answering which he was confined?

I do not recollect that he did.

Did Mr. Hastings produce any special circumstances which induced him to insist upon his being discharged?

I do not recollect that he did.

Did he not assign as one reason, that he was imprisoned to prevent his making petitions or remonstrances to him?

It is possible he might, but I do not recollect that he did.

Was that the cause of his imprisonment?

I conceive not.

Did Mr. Hastings take any measures, to your knowledge, to verify whether that was the cause or not?

Not to my knowledge.

Did Mr. Hastings take any measure to secure the payment of Ismael Beg's balance before he was released.

I do not know that he did; but I think he mentioned that the account was to be fairly settled before he was released.

Was that done?

The account was settled, but I believe the balance was not paid.

Was the balance considerable?

I do not recollect what the sum was; but I think it was between one and two lacks of rupees.

Was he not again appointed to those collections?

I believe not, during my residence at Lucknow.

Was he afterwards?

I think he was afterwards, but I really am not certain.

H

Had

Had he not made you some overtures relative to your interest before he had been six hours in confinement ?

To the best of my recollection he did.

What were they ?

They were general :—he gave me to understand he would make it worth my while to espouse his cause against the Nabob.

Did you reject that offer ?

I paid no sort of attention to it.

Do you know of any reason better than that of a pecuniary interest, that could have induced any person to order his release from a confinement inflicted by the lawful authority of the country ?

I do not know any reason for it, unless it might have been supposed he had been unjustly confined.

Do you know any reason for it, except such as above, which could be assigned by any person in justification of his release, other than upon an enquiry whether the confinement was just or unjust ?

I cannot say I know any other.

Was not Mr. Hastings very peremptory from the beginning, in ordering Ismael Beg to be released ?

To the best of my recollection he was.

Was Suckut Ullah Cawn, the Vakeel of Muzzuffer Jung, Resident at Calcutta with Mr. Hastings ?

I understood he was.

Do you know whether it was the custom of Mr. Hastings to allot so many hours, in almost every day, to converse with the Vakeels resident in Calcutta, and to receive their representations ?

I understand it was his custom.

Do you know whether Mr. Hastings speaks the Moor language well (which is the common language for conversation).

I always understood that he did—as well as Europeans do in general.

Do you know whether Mr. Hastings understands the Persian language sufficiently to read a Persian letter himself, and to understand it perfectly as read by a Monfhee ?

I have always understood that Mr. Hastings understood the Persian language perfectly well, and of course that he could read and understand a Persian letter.

Had the Nabob Vizier a Vakeel at Calcutta, and what was his name ?

He had a Vakeel at Calcutta—his name was Rajah Govind Ram.

Do you know that Mr. Hastings permitted the Vakeels to attend him on business at all times, at his Garden House, as well as at the Government House, in Calcutta ?

I do not know it was his custom to receive Vakeels promiscuously at his country house, but I have often seen the Vizier's Vakeel and others there.

Do you conceive that representations might have been made by
the

the Nabob Vizier and Muzzuffer Jung, through their Vakeels, without any communication with the Resident at Lucknow?

Certainly I conceive there might.

While you was Resident at Lucknow, and Mr. Shee at Farruckabad, was the tribute from Muzzuffer Jung regularly remitted to Lucknow?

I do not recollect—I believe it was never fully paid up.

While Muzzuffer Jung had the intire management of his country, from December 1781 to July 1782, did he make any remittance of his tribute to Lucknow?

None at all.

Before Mr. Shee's appointment, was the tribute regularly paid up and remitted?

I believe it was not.

Was it better paid during Mr. Shee's continuance in office, or worse than in the periods preceding it?

I believe much the same; but I speak from a very imperfect recollection.

Then your answer is not from any certainty?

No.

Upon what grounds do you make this last assertion, that the remittances in Mr. Shee's time were much the same as before?

I speak from recollection merely—I think there were always balances on the tribute from Farruckabad.

Were those balances less after the removal of Mr. Shee?

I think there was very little, if any thing, collected after the removal of Mr. Shee.

The two following questions which had been before put to the witness, and his answers, were again read:

“ Do you know of any reason better than that of a pecuniary interest, that could have induced any person to order his release from a confinement inflicted by the lawful authority of the country? ”

“ I do not know any reason for it, unless it might have been supposed he had been unjustly confined. ”

“ Do you know any reason for it, except such as above, which could be assigned by any person in justification of his release, other than upon an enquiry whether the confinement was just or unjust? ”

“ I cannot say I know any other. ”

And then the witness was asked,

Do you mean to imply, by your answers to those questions, that Mr. Hastings was influenced by his private interest to order the release of Ismael Beg?

Most certainly I do not.

Are you not fully persuaded that Mr. Hastings was not influenced by any such motives?

As far as I am acquainted with any circumstances, I am persuaded he was not.

Did Mr. Hastings order any inquiry to be instituted, whether Ismael Beg was justly or unjustly imprisoned?

I do not know that he did, further than ordering the account of his balances to be taken.

Did not you inform Mr. Hastings, through Sir Elijah Impey, that Ismael Beg had been tampering with you by some pecuniary offers for his release?

I did write to Sir Elijah Impey on the subject, to the best of my recollection, to the purport of one of my letters before the Committee, delivered in by Sir Elijah Impey; but whether he communicated it to Mr. Hastings, or not, I cannot say.

Did Mr. Hastings, after the letter had been sent to be communicated, informing him of the corrupt offers of Ismael Beg, and your motives for refusing them, desist from his injunctions to have him (Ismael Beg) released from prison?

The witness was directed to withdraw.

And being again called in; he was asked,

Did you mean that the letter written by you, relative to Ismael Beg, should, either by itself or in its substance, be communicated by Sir Elijah Impey to Mr. Hastings, or not?

I certainly wished that the substance should be communicated to Mr. Hastings.

Did Mr. Hastings, after the letter had been sent to be so communicated, informing him of the corrupt offers of Ismael Beg, and your motives for refusing them, desist from his injunctions to have him (Ismael Beg) released from prison?

He persevered in his injunctions, that he should be so released; but I do not recollect having received any fresh orders from him after the dispatch of that letter.

And then the witness was directed to withdraw.

To report a progress, &c.

MINUTES, &c.

Veneris, 23^e die Februarij 1787.

COMMITTEE of the Whole House on the Articles of Charge of High Crimes and Misdemeanors, presented to the House against Warren Hastings, Esquire, late Governor General of Bengal.

SIR ELIJAH IMPEY being called in;

And the order for the production of the correspondence in his possession, relating to the affairs of Farruckabad, being read to the witness;

He was asked,

Have you brought any such correspondence with you?

I have not.

Have you any further correspondence relative to Farruckabad in your possession?

I have not any correspondence relative to Farruckabad, nor any other correspondence relative to the articles exhibited against Mr. Hastings, but such letters as I have before delivered into this Committee—nor have had in England any but what I before delivered in.

In whose custody did you leave your Correspondence with Mr. Middleton relative to the affairs of Oude, or other matters relative to public business?

In the custody of nobody.

What did you do with that part of your correspondence?

I before told this Committee, that it was by mere chance any part of the correspondence was preserved—I never thought of preserving it.

The question repeated.

I should have prefaced what I before said, by saying, that I do not know what is become of it.

If

If you do not know what is become of it, how can you assert that you have left it in no man's hands at Calcutta?

I did not mean that it might not by chance have come into the hands of any person at Calcutta, but that I never left it in trust with any body there.—I hope there is no inconsistency in that answer.

Did you destroy those papers or not?

If I destroyed them I do not remember that I destroyed them—I even will not take upon myself to say that they ever existed; though I rather believe that more letters passed than those which were produced before this Committee.

You will recollect whether you did or did not destroy them, and speak positively to that point?

If I could recollect whether I did or did not destroy them, I should have answered the question as fully as I have answered any question put to me by the Committee.

And then the witness was directed to withdraw.

NATHANIEL MIDDLETON, Esq. being called in;

And the order for the production of the correspondence in his possession, relating to the affairs of Farruckabad, being read to him,

He was asked,

Have you brought that correspondence?

I have.

The witness then produced at the bar a list, containing a reference to certain books he had brought with him.

And the said list and books were delivered in at the table.

And then the witness was asked,

Are there in those books any part of your correspondence with Sir Elijah Impey, relative to Farruckabad, or the affairs of Oude? I believe not.

Have you copies or originals of any correspondence between you and Sir Elijah Impey, relative to the affairs of Oude, since your correspondence commenced, in 1780?

To the best of my knowledge I have not.

How have you disposed of that correspondence?

When I left India I destroyed all papers which I thought of no consequence; and I apprehend Sir Elijah Impey's letters were amongst those I destroyed—I don't know I ever kept copies of my letters to Sir Elijah Impey.

Have you Sir Elijah Impey's letters to you?

I believe I have already said I have not.

Is your whole correspondence relative to Farruckabad in those books?

Every thing that is in my possession.

Is there any further correspondence any where else?

Not that I know of.

Has

Has any been given up to Mr. Hastings, or destroyed ?

I have already said to this Committee, that many of my letters were delivered up to Mr. Hastings several years ago — It is possible some of them might have related to Farruckabad ; but I cannot say.

Have any been delivered from you to Mr. Hastings, since the period of those which the Court of Directors ordered you to deliver up to the Governor General and Council ?

None have been delivered up since the period when Mr. Hastings demanded them — I don't recollect when that was.

And then the witness was directed to withdraw.

The said letters and extracts, copied from the several books, so delivered in by Mr. Middleton, according to the direction of the said list, are as follow :

‘ Mr. Bristow to Lieutenant Colonel Goddard.

‘ To Lieutenant Colonel Goddard.

‘ Sir,

‘ I have the pleasure to send you herewith a letter from his Excellency the Vizier.

‘ As his Excellency has entirely given up Munitaz ul Dowlah to Muzuffer Jung, he has also agreed to a request of the latter to withdraw the guards upon his house and effects ; and has directed me to acquaint you with his resolution, and to request you will order the guard of your Sepoys, now stationed there, to make over their charge to Muzuffer Jung's people, as some compensation to him for the deficiencies in the revenue, whilst in the hands of Munitaz ul Dowlah.

‘ I am, Sir, &c.’

‘ Lucknow, 10th January 1777.

‘ To Lieutenant Colonel Wilding, commanding the temporary Brigade at Futtly Ghurr

‘ Sir,

‘ Agreeably to your desire, I now forward you a letter from the Nabob Vizier, requesting that you will occasionally furnish the Nabob Muzuffer Jung, upon his and the Sizowoul's application, with such aid as you may be able, in realizing the collections of his Excellency's tribute.

‘ I have the honour to be, Sir, yours, &c.

‘ Lucknow,

‘ Signed NATH. MIDDLETON,

‘ 11th October 1778.

‘ Resident, &c.’

‘ To Mr. George Shee, Collector of the Vizier's Assignments to the Company, on the Nabob Mozuffer Jung.

‘ Sir,

‘ In conformity to the commands of the Honourable the Governor General and Council, under date the 22d ultimo, constituting

• constituting you in the place of the Sezawul at Farruckabad, to
 • collect the Vizier's assignment to the Company on the Nabob
 • Mozuffer Jung, with the same allowances, establishment, and
 • power, that have been given to the said Sezawul, I now pro-
 • ceed to give you such informations and instructions as I judge
 • requisite for your fulfilling the intentions of your appointment.

• The tribute to be paid by the Nabob Mozuffer Jung to his
 • Excellency the Vizier is settled at Lucknow Sicca rupees
 • 4,50,000 per annum; but on account of balances remaining
 • unpaid at the end of the last Hindoo year 1186, which was in
 • our 25th September 1779, the whole demand upon the Nabob
 • of Farruckabad became 6,62,000 L^w S^a R^s, agreeable to the
 • account inclosed, No. 4, which also specifies the sum allowed
 • to the Sezawul on the part of the Nabob Vizier, for such a
 • force as is necessary to make your collections, and of course
 • becomes a deducting from the Nabob Vizier's claim. On
 • the separate paper, No. 2, is specified the allowances on
 • the part of the Nabob Mozuffer Jung, which must be accu-
 • mulated upon the Tuncaw he will give you for the purpose of
 • answering the Nabob's claim. Three per cent. is the commis-
 • sion of the Sezawul, to be drawn only upon the specific sum
 • which he shall be found to have collected of the amount made
 • over to him in assignments. The balance to the Company due
 • from Abdullah Beg, the present Sezawul, according to the
 • No. 3, amounts to 2,09,514 L^w S^a R^s, for which you have
 • No. 4, the bond of the Nabob Mozuffer Jung; this it ap-
 • peared necessary to take, because all the Collectors in the
 • country have officially signed these obligations, as an acknow-
 • ledgment that the demand is a just one; and as your situation
 • is more in the light of a collection, I could not demand such
 • an obligation from you. The bond, however, is made out
 • with this saving clause, that he the Nabob Mozuffer Jung
 • shall credit in the accounts of the Vizier, for whatever sums
 • shall be proved to be due from the Sezawul Abdullah Beg,
 • upon an adjustment of his accounts. You will likewise re-
 • ceive herewith, No. 5, a copy of the kistbundee executed by
 • Abdullah Beg, which, as all the dependant adjustments with
 • the inferior Aumils are made according to it, can be the only
 • line for my demands upon you to the end of the present year.

• No 6 is a Perwannah to the Sezawul, directing him to de-
 • liver over charge of his office to you, together with the public
 • papers and cash in his hands, to point out the several Aumils,
 • and the Purgunnahs in which they have been employed; to
 • deliver you accounts of his particular adjustments with them
 • for the public revenue of the collections they have paid him,
 • and the balances severally due from them. It is unnecessary
 • to inform you that these several dependent accounts, united,
 • must form the abstract which I have inclosed, No. 3; and upon
 • them,

' them, and the acknowledgments of the Aumils, must depend
 ' your information from whence the balance in demand must
 ' be drawn. It may be adviseable to oblige the several Aumils,
 ' as you may settle the demands upon them for the balance due
 ' on their engagements, with the Sezawal, to sign bonds for
 ' their balances to be paid to the end of the present year, at
 ' which time each Aumil must render you an account of his
 ' jumma crutch, that is, his collections and disbursement, that
 ' you may be enabled to settle the just demands of the Nabob
 ' Mozuffer Jung for the ensuing year; for from the nature of
 ' the engagements between his Excellency the Vizier, and the
 ' Nabob Mozuffer Jung, which are not upon the footing of
 ' those between the Government and farmers, whatever defi-
 ' ciencies there may be in one year, must be accumulated on
 ' the tribute of the next. This will render it absolutely neces-
 ' sary for the Nabob of Farruckabad's ease, each year, to be
 ' punctual in the discharge of the tribute, by giving into your
 ' hands ample assignments, in order to prevent his being addi-
 ' tionally burthened in the ensuing: a maxim it will be your
 ' duty to inculcate and force, as it will, besides the real benefit
 ' to the Nabob Mozuffer Jung, render secure that part of the
 ' Company's assignments from the Vizier.

' In your adjustment with the Sezawul Abdullah Beg,
 ' should any difference arise between you and him, it must be
 ' referred to my decision, when you will make me acquainted
 ' with all circumstances and papers which you imagine will assist
 ' me therein. At the end of the present year, which will be in
 ' September next, it will be requisite for you to come to Luck-
 ' now, in order to adjust the accounts between this Govern-
 ' ment and the Nabob Mozuffer Jung, who should also come
 ' himself, or depute his Dewan.

' Lucknow,
 ' the 16th June 1780.

' I am, Sir,

' Your most obedient servant,

' (Signed) C. PURLING.'

' To Mr. George Shee, Collector of the Company's Assign-
 ' ments at Furruckabad.

' Sir,

' A Zemindar of the district of Almas Ally Khaun, named Ko-
 ' tula Cawn, having killed the above Aumil's Naib of Ettawah;
 ' in a battle, and fled from his own Pergunnah into the country
 ' of the Nabob Mozuffer Jung, is, I understand, now in treaty
 ' with Purrunsook, to deliver to him a fort at Nedowly, situated
 ' upon the confines of the two provinces, in order thereby the
 ' more effectually to support a rebellion against the Nabob's go-
 ' vernment, and oppose the collection of the rents. I therefore
 ' request you will take especial care that the fort is not only not
 ' delivered up, but that Purrunsook shall be immediately advised

I

' that

‘ that such a conduct will place him in such a light of culpability
 ‘ as to bring him to a severe account and punishment. You will
 ‘ further please to require of him, if possible, to apprehend the
 ‘ person of Kotule Cawn, and deliver him to Almas Ally
 ‘ Khaun’s Naib, at Etawah. — The more speedily these measures
 ‘ are taken, the more effectual they will be.

‘ I am, Sir,

‘ Lucknow,

‘ Yours, &c.

‘ the 18th August 1780.

‘ (Signed) C. PURLING.’

‘ To Mr. George Shee, Collector of the Company’s Assign-
 ‘ ments at Farruckabad.

‘ Sir,

‘ I am favoured with your letter of the 24th instant, and have
 ‘ written to Colonel Muir, to assist you with a force for the re-
 ‘ duction of Nedouly, in case you should find it necessary to
 ‘ apply to him. By the inclosed copy of a letter to the Nabob
 ‘ Vizier, and of his answer, you will perceive that he has de-
 ‘ clined giving the order you required.

‘ If you will please to read my letter of the 21st instant,
 ‘ you must observe that my recommendation of Almas Ally
 ‘ Khaun could not amount to an interference with your office,
 ‘ which I understand to be established clearly under my orders
 ‘ and authority; and had I ordered, instead of recommending
 ‘ your acceptance of the proposals of Almas Ally Khaun, whose
 ‘ well-known responsibility and punctuality in the performance
 ‘ of his engagements I vouched for, I do not think I should have
 ‘ passed the line drawn for your powers, which are the same as
 ‘ those of the Native Sezawul, who undoubtedly would have
 ‘ obeyed any order I gave him upon the subject of his trust for
 ‘ the Nabob Vizier; and who would have understood such a
 ‘ recommendation as clearly tending to his ease, and the public
 ‘ advantage.

‘ As to the delivery of the fort of Nedouly, after reduction, to
 ‘ the charge of Almas Ally Khaun, my letter cannot be read
 ‘ with any attention, if it is understood that I was desirous of
 ‘ supporting a claim of his Excellency the Vizier to the property
 ‘ of the fort; for as I could not believe that an Aumil of the
 ‘ character of Almas Ally Khaun could be refused such an ap-
 ‘ plication, I naturally concluded, that the most summary and
 ‘ effectual method of restoring peace in those parts was by de-
 ‘ firing, through the Vizier’s Perwannah, that Colonel Muir
 ‘ would reduce it (which he certainly could have done by the
 ‘ same force, or the shew of it, as if directed by your authority)
 ‘ and deliver it into the hands of Almas Ally Khaun, whose re-
 ‘ spectability in those parts, and the requisite force he is furnished
 ‘ with, would render it more secure from capture, and less
 ‘ liable to be lost by treachery, than where in the hands of the
 ‘ dependents

' dependents of the Nabob Muzuffer Jung, whose late instance
 ' of infidelity plainly indicates the incapacity of the Govern-
 ' ment, the instability and uncertainty of any possession the Na-
 ' bob has, and has at this very instant rendered precarious the
 ' revenues of both the Vizier's and the Nabob's lands, on the
 ' confines of which this fort appears to be. While I am go-
 ' verned by no motive, but the welfare and success of the busi-
 ' ness committed to my charge, part of which I must consider
 ' your office, while the orders of the Governor and Council are
 ' binding, it is immaterial to me what protests are made; I am
 ' of opinion that the proposals of Almas Ally Khaun, for the
 ' revenues of the Pergunnah of Merara, provided they are equal
 ' to the offers of others, ought to have been accepted, as far as
 ' your influence with the Nabob on his people could accomplish
 ' it; that you ought to have been pleased with the safe opportu-
 ' nity you had of collaterally benefiting your employers, by a
 ' measure which expressly tends to the security of the revenues
 ' of both the parts of the Pergunnah in question, though di-
 ' vided—divided as to the property, evidently affecting the same
 ' interest.

' Lucknow,
 ' the 31st August 1780.

' I am, Sir,
 ' Your most obedient
 ' Hble Servt,
 (Signed) ' C. PURLING.'

' To Mr. George Shee, Collector of the Company's Assign-
 ' ment on Farruckabad.

' Sir,

' I have received your letter of the 15th instant; and am ex-
 ' ceedingly sorry to observe, from the tenor of it, as well as
 ' from a former correspondence I have had with you, that a mis-
 ' interpretation of the plain words and intentions of my letters,
 ' is likely to render me liable to accumulated trouble in this
 ' already burthensome station. Unwilling as I have been to be
 ' drawn into an unnecessary and ill-timed alteration, to the ob-
 ' struction of the many important objects of my charge, I am
 ' concerned to be compelled to point out to you, that you appear
 ' widely to have mistaken and departed from the intention of
 ' your appointment, explicitly laid down by the Honourable
 ' Board, and to have taken up a new and unintended lieu. The
 ' Honourable Board's letter to me, under date the 22d of May,
 ' shews the express object and foundation of your appointment
 ' to be the exemption of the Nabob Mozuffer Jung from the
 ' hardships and indignities he had complained he had suffered
 ' from the Native Sezawul, appointed for the collection of the
 ' tribute due from the Nabob of Farruckabad, and made over in
 ' assignment to the Honourable Company—with this intention,
 ' you are appointed Collector of the Company's assignment on

Farruckabad, and ordered to proceed to Lucknow, to be in-
 vested with your charge, and to receive instructions for your
 conduct from me. From whence then are your ideas drawn?
 What documents have I, to suppose that you have been erected
 an arbiter of the rights of Princes? From whence am I to
 consider you authorized so freely to comment upon the Per-
 wannah of the Vizier, or the conduct or intentions of his Mi-
 nisters, in the adjustment of accounts? By what new arrange-
 ment am I to understand that an order transmitted agreeable
 to the form prescribed by the Board shall be set aside? And by
 what right am I to determine that the presence of any person
 summoned by such an order, for the express purpose of settling
 accounts, is necessary at Lucknow? What authority even have
 I to refuse my concurrence to the observation of an established
 custom, or to destroy one single right which the Nabob Vizier,
 a Prince in friendship and alliance with the Honourable Com-
 pany, conceives himself entitled to? The Nabob Mozuffer
 Jung has never before refused the attendance of his Dewan to
 settle his yearly accounts; nor has he or his Ministers deputed
 his dependence, or disavowed that respect and deference to the
 station of the Vizier of the empire, which, exclusive of the
 necessity of settling accounts, renders such a customary depu-
 tation a positive right. Does a requisition that accounts shall
 be annually settled, and each party be satisfied with the justice
 of the yearly demand, imply a desire to oppress? And who are
 the proper people for the adjustment of these accounts, but the
 Ministers or the Nabob Vizier, and those of the Nabob of
 Farruckabad?

From the above you must conceive, that as far as my judg-
 ment leads me to decide on the letter and spirit of your ap-
 pointment, I consider that you are (as well as myself) with-
 out a power to destroy one right or custom hitherto observed:
 And as it appears from all the forms I have been subject to
 through the course of my service, only necessary that I should
 give, and you receive and obey explicit orders, I shall add here,
 that I have thought it unnecessary to wait the Nabob of Far-
 ruckabad's reply to his Excellency the Vizier's Perwannah,
 both because his indisposition may possibly delay it beyond the
 period of the time necessary to bring my accounts to a conclu-
 sion, and because I cannot admit that a non-compliance of a
 man little above the state of idiotism, only become a possibility,
 since your appointment, can make a difference in the necessity
 or propriety of deputing a person as required by the Nabob
 Vizier; I now therefore enclose a Perwannah from myself to
 the Nabob Mozuffer Jung, which you will please to have de-
 livered to him forthwith. This Perwannah requires an obedi-
 ence to the Perwannah of the Nabob Vizier; informs him that
 your appointment was not made with an intention to destroy

the

the customs hitherto observed between him, the Nabob Mo-
zuffer Jung, and the Nabob Vizier; and gives him to under-
stand, that if he refuses the deputation, you have my orders to
send his Dewan by force;—and I now give you my positive
direction, in case of a refusal on the part of the Nabob Mo-
zuffer Jung, to oblige his Dewan to attend with the necessary
papers for settling the accounts, by putting him under a guard,
and sending him to Lucknow.

Should the Nabob Mozuffer Jung be so ill as not to open my letter, you will send for the Dewan, direct him to read it in your presence, and inform him that nothing is required but what he has always hitherto done, and that if he attends without further delay, he shall not be liable to the displeasure of the Nabob Vizier, or of myself.

‘ I am, Sir,

‘ Lucknow,
‘ the 21st September, 1780.

‘Your most obedient

‘ humble fervant,

(Signed) 'C. PURLING.'

To Mr. George Shee, Collector of the Company's Assignments at Farruckabad.

‘ Sir,

‘ I enclose a letter from the Nabob Vizier to the Nabob of
‘ Farrackabad, requiring the attendance of his Dewan, to settle
‘ his yearly accounts. You will be so good as to allow the De-
‘ wan to come as soon as possible.

‘ Lucknow,

‘ I am, Sir, &c.

16th October 1780.

‘(Signed) C. PURLING.’

‘ To Mr. George Shee, Collector of the Honourable Company’s
‘ Assignments on Farruckabad.

‘ Sir,

‘ I must repeat my order to you to send forthwith the Dewan
‘ of the Nabob Mozuffer Jung to Lucknow, that his accounts
‘ with his Excellency the Vizier may be settled for the last year,
‘ and to enable his Excellency to grant his assignment to the
‘ Honourable Company for the present ; and I positively direct
‘ that you, immediately on receipt hereof, remit whatever public
‘ money may be in your hands to Lucknow, without any excuse
‘ or delay whatever.

‘ Lucknow,

‘ I am, Sir, &c.

the 31st October 1780.

(Signed) 'C. PURLING.'

Mr. Middleton to Mr. Shee.

To Mr. George Shee, Collector Vizier's Assignments to the
Company upon Farruckabad.

4 Sir,

I have been honoured with your letter of 26th ultimo, with

‘ 26 bills for L. H. Sa 40,000, drawn at 11 days sight ; as soon
‘ as realized the amount shall be carried to the credit of the
‘ Vizier’s assignments to the Company upon Farruckabad.

‘ Lucknow, I have the honour to be, &c.’
‘ 1st December 1780.

‘ Mr. Middleton to Mr. Shee.

‘ To Mr. George Shee, Collector of the Vizier’s Assignments
‘ to the Honourable Company, upon the Nabob of Farruck-
‘ abad.

‘ Sir,
‘ The season being far advanced, and the assignments granted
‘ by his Excellency the Vizier for the Honourable Company,
‘ amounting to the very considerable sum of 6,43,000 Rs, it is
‘ very material that I should be immediately furnished with a
‘ kistbundee of the payments you may expect you will be able to
‘ make me in liquidation of that amount of the current year ;
‘ I have therefore to request you will furnish me with such an
‘ account as soon as possible.

‘ Lucknow, I have the honour to be, Sir, &c.’
‘ the 5th December 1780.

‘ To Mr. George Shee, Collector of the Vizier’s Assignments
‘ to the Honourable Company upon the Nabob of Farruck-
‘ abad.

‘ Sir,
‘ In the absence of Mr. Middleton, I have received your letter
‘ of the 15th November, covering bills for 20,000. Immedi-
‘ ately upon receipt I sent them for acceptance, which being re-
‘ fused to the two enclosed, I take the liberty of returning them.
‘ By Dernigur Teek Chund, at Farruckabad, upon Butchrage
‘ Berendafs, dated 26th Aughun, at 11 days date,

I — 3,000

I — 2,000

— 5,000 Hauly Siccas.

‘ The other parts of your letter I shall do myself the honour
‘ of returning an early answer to more at length.

‘ I have the honour to be, Sir, &c.’
‘ Lucknow,
‘ the 23d December 1780: ‘ (Signed) R. JOHNSON.’

‘ Mr. Johnson to Mr. Shee.

‘ To Mr. George Shee, Collector of the Vizier’s Assignments
‘ to the Honourable Company on the Nabob of Farruck-
‘ abad.

‘ Sir,
‘ His Excellency the Vizier having received a petition from
‘ Hyperfaud, the renter of the salt petre farm for the present year,
‘ com-

' complaining that he cannot get possession of the pans in the
 ' district of Farruckabad, he has desired me to communicate to
 ' you his wish, that you will not only suffer him, but assist the
 ' farmer in the prosecution of this: I must therefore join my
 ' request to his Excellency's; for, whether the claim is founded
 ' upon legal right, or otherwise, custom has established his Ex-
 ' cellency's exclusive privilege of granting that farm upon Far-
 ' ruckabad, in common with the rest of his dominions, to whom-
 ' soever he may think fit.

' I have the honour to be, Sir,

' Lucknow,

' Your most obedient,

' January 5th, 1781.

' humble servant.

' P. S. A letter to the same purport as this has also been
 ' written, and sent from his Excellency the Vizier to the Nabob
 ' Muzuffer Jung.'

' To Mr. George Shee, Collector of the Vizier's Assignments
 ' to the Company, on the Nabob of Farruckabad.

' Sir,

' I have been honoured with your letter of the 15th Decem-
 ' ber last, the receipt of which Mr. Johnson has already acknow-
 ' ledged, in his letter of the 23d December, written during my
 ' absence.

' It gives me the greatest concern to peruse the melancholy
 ' prospect you afford me, in the object of realizing the demands
 ' for the present year upon the Nabob of Farrackabad. I must
 ' confess that apprehensions of a similar tendency had already
 ' possessed me, from the uncommonly small remittances you
 ' had hitherto been able to make me, at so advanced a period of
 ' the year—almost one third elapsed, and the first crop off the
 ' ground.

' These alarms the more readily gained ground with me, from
 ' not receiving any assurances from you to counteract them.
 ' The consequence was, my preparing to ask from the Vizier a
 ' remission of the claim upon Farruckabad, in exchange for an
 ' equal assignment upon some of his Excellency's Aumildars,
 ' within his own dominions: but now that your letter has not
 ' only confirmed, but increased those alarms, I find myself under
 ' the necessity of making such an application immediately; and
 ' shall advise you of the result.

' If my succession in this measure should at the same time
 ' afford any relief to the distresses of the Nabob Muzuffer Jung,
 ' who, from what you express, has at present barely a mainte-
 ' nance for himself, his family, and numerous relations, it will
 ' afford me an additional pleasure, particularly as this object has
 ' expressly formed the principal Aim of the Honourable Board
 ' in your present appointment.

' The kistbundee cannot be taken, as you propose, from that
 ' of

‘ of any former year, not only because the total amount of the
 ‘ present claim is not similar to any former, but also because it
 ‘ must be an official document, in form of an obligation, by the
 ‘ person in charge of the collections, agreeably to the usual and
 ‘ universal mode of these parts, which has hitherto been in-
 ‘ variably attended to by the Sizawal at Farruckabad, in whose
 ‘ place the orders of the Board have expressly placed you.

‘ Lucknow, ‘ I have the honour to be,
 ‘ the 8th January 1781. ‘ Sir, &c.

(Signed) ‘ NATHL MIDDLETON.’

‘ Mr. Middleton to Mr. Shee.

‘ To Mr. George Shee, Collector of the Vizier’s Assignments, &c.
 ‘ Sir,

‘ I have been honoured with your letter of the 17th instant,
 ‘ inclosing bills of exchange for 20,000 Lucknow Sicca rupees,
 ‘ account his Excellency the Vizier’s assignment on Farruck-
 ‘ abad; which amount, when paid, shall be passed to the credit
 ‘ of your collections.

‘ Lucknow, ‘ I have the honour to be,
 ‘ the 23d February 1781. ‘ Sir, &c.’

‘ Mr. Middleton to Mr. Shee.

‘ To Mr. George Shee, Collector of the Vizier’s Assignments
 ‘ in favour of the Honourable Company on Farruckabad.
 ‘ Sir

‘ I have received your letter of the 9th of March, inclosing
 ‘ bills of exchange, in part of payment of the Vizier’s assign-
 ‘ ment in favour of the Honourable Company, on Farruckabad,
 ‘ for twenty thousand rupees; which amount, when received,
 ‘ shall be carried to the credit of your collections.

‘ Lucknow, ‘ I have the honour to be,
 ‘ the 15th March 1781. ‘ Sir, &c.’

‘ To Mr. George Shee, Collector, &c. Farruckabad.

‘ Sir,

‘ I have been favoured with the receipt of your letter, under
 ‘ date 23d instant, covering bills of exchange for twenty thou-
 ‘ sand rupees, in part payment of the Vizier’s assignment to the
 ‘ Honourable Company, on Farruckabad. The amount,
 ‘ when received, shall be passed to the credit of your collec-
 ‘ tions.

‘ I have the honour to be,

‘ Sir,

‘ Lucknow, ‘ Your most obedient
 ‘ the 25th March 1781. ‘ humble servant,
 (Signed) NATHL MIDDLETON.’

‘ Mr.

‘ Mr. Middleton to Mr. Shee.

‘ To Mr. George Shee, Collector of the Vizier’s Assignments to
‘ the Honourable Company on Farruckabad.

‘ Sir,

‘ I have been favoured with your letter of the 9th instant,
‘ covering 13 bills of exchange for Lucknow Haullie Siccas,
‘ 25,000. As soon as realized, the amount shall be carried to
‘ the credit of the Vizier’s assignments to the Company on Far-
‘ ruckabad.

‘ I have the honour to be,

‘ Sir,

‘ Yours, &c.’

‘ Lucknow,

‘ the 13th April 1781.

‘ Mr. Middleton to Mr. Shee.

‘ To Mr. George Shee, Collector of the Vizier’s Assignments to
‘ the Company on Farruckabad.

‘ Sir,

‘ I have been honoured with the receipt of your letter of the
‘ 30th ultimo, covering bills of exchange for Lucknow Sicca
‘ Rupees thirty thousand, on account of his Excellency the
‘ Vizier’s assignments to the Company on Farruckabad; the
‘ amount, when received, shall be carried to the credit of your
‘ collections.

I have the honour to be,

‘ Lucknow,

‘ Sir, &c.’

‘ the 3d May 1781.

‘ Mr. Middleton to Mr. Shee.

‘ To Mr. George Shee, Collector of the Vizier’s Assignments to
‘ the Honourable Company upon Farruckabad.

‘ Sir,

‘ Being engaged in settling my last year’s accounts with his
‘ Excellency the Nabob Vizier, I must request you will as
‘ speedily as possible inform me of the extent of what I have to
‘ expect the total receipt from Farruckabad will amount to for
‘ the year 1188; and should you have any balance in hand, that
‘ you will be pleased to remit it to me.

‘ I have the honour to be,

‘ Sir,

‘ Lucknow,

‘ Your most obedient humble servant.’

‘ the 28th October 1781.

‘ Mr. Middleton to Mr. Shee.

‘ To Mr. George Shee, Collector of the Company’s Assignments
‘ on the Nufferana of Farruckabad.

‘ Sir,

‘ Should you have any money to remit me on account of your
‘ collections, either for the past or the present year, I request you

K

‘ will

‘ will be pleased to pay it into the hands of Mr. George Day,
 ‘ Paymaster to the Futtty Ghur Detachment, for the use of the
 ‘ troops at that station.

‘ I am,

‘ Sir,

‘ Lucknow, ‘ Your most obedient humble servant,’
 ‘ the 31st October 1781.

‘ Mr. Middleton to Mr. Shee.

‘ To Mr. George Shee.

‘ Sir,

‘ His Excellency the Nabob Vizier having entrusted Almas
 ‘ Ally Cawn with the Adjustment and realizing of his claims
 ‘ on the Nabob of Farruckabad, I am to request you will be
 ‘ pleased to make over to him, or such agent as he may depute,
 ‘ an account of your collections, as it may stand at the time of
 ‘ his arrival, with such other vouchers and official documents as
 ‘ may be necessary, to enable him to ascertain the actual sum he
 ‘ will have to demand of Muzuffer Jung on the Vizier’s ac-
 ‘ count.—I farther request that you will also transmit me copies
 ‘ of all accounts and papers that you may deliver to Almas Ally
 ‘ Cawn, or his delegate; and I am,

‘ Sir,

‘ Lucknow, ‘ Your most obedient humble servant.’
 ‘ the 8th November 1781.

‘ Mr. Middleton to Mr. Shee.

‘ To Mr. George Shee.

‘ Sir,

‘ I have the honour to inclose the original of an order to you
 ‘ from the Honourable the Governor General, dated the 23d
 ‘ September last.

‘ I am

‘ Lucknow, ‘ Your most obedient humble Servant.’
 ‘ the 8th November 1781.

‘ To Major Thomas Scott, commanding at Jayes.

‘ Sir,

‘ There being immediate service for a regiment at Farruc-
 ‘ kabad, I have written to Major Lumsdaine to send a detach-
 ‘ ment to occupy your station; but as I do not suppose any
 ‘ material inconveniency can occur from your marching before
 ‘ the arrival of Major Lumsdaine, I must request, in concurrence
 ‘ with the desire of the Nabob Vizier, that you will immedi-
 ‘ ately

‘ ately take the shortest road to Futtý Ghur, where you will receive further instruction.

‘ I have the honour to be,

‘ Sir,

‘ Your most, &c.

‘ (Signed)

R. JOHNSON,

‘ Actg Ref.

‘ Lucknow,

‘ the 22d August 1782.

‘ I beg to be informed of the route you mean to take.’

‘ Mr. Johnson to Major Thomas Scott.

‘ To Major Thomas Scott, commanding the 8th Regiment
‘ marching to Farruckabad.

‘ Sir,

‘ The duty you are marching upon to Farruckabad, is to establish an agent going on behalf of the Nabob Vizier to demand and collect the tribute due from the Nabob Mozuffer Jung.

‘ By the last advices, the chief manager of the Nabob Mozuffer Jung’s affairs, named Subkit Ulla Khan, has resolved to oppose this measure; but no information upon this subject is to be relied upon but what you may obtain upon your arrival, or from Mahomed Seyed Khan, and Pay Hananund, the agents going from the Nabob Vizier; the latter of these two is the man upon whose knowledge and exertions dependance is placed in the execution of this trust, and with him you will be pleased to consult upon the nature of such support as he may require in his business.

‘ I have the honour to be,

‘ Sir,

‘ Your most obedient,

‘ humble servant.’

‘ Lucknow,

‘ the 9th September 1782.

‘ Mr. Middleton to Major Thomas Scott.

‘ To Major Thomas Scott, commanding the 3d Regiment on its
‘ march to Farruckabad.

‘ Sir,

‘ I have had the honour to receive your letter of the 11th inst. from Cawnpore.

‘ I am preparing instructions for your guidance, which will be dispatched so as to reach you by the time of your arrival at Futtý Ghur.

‘ I have the honour to be,

‘ Sir,

‘ Yours, &c.’

‘ Lucknow,

‘ the 16 September 1782.

‘ Mr. Middleton to Major Thomas Scott.

‘ To Major Thomas Scott, commanding the 3d Regiment on its
‘ March to Farruckabad.

‘ Sir,

‘ I have received the honour of your letter of the 14th inst.
‘ and am much concerned to hear of the treatment you met with
‘ at Billour. I hope the proper resentment you shewed to
‘ such unwarrantable conduct will be the means of exempting
‘ you from any future insults of the same sort.

‘ The only instructions I have at present to give you for the
‘ guidance of your conduct at Farruckabad, I have forwarded to
‘ Roy Heranund, to be delivered to you on your arrival.

‘ I have the honour to be,

‘ Lucknow,

‘ Sir,

‘ the 18th September 1782.

‘ Yours, &c.’

‘ Mr. Middleton to Major Thomas Scott.

‘ To Major Thomas Scott, commanding the 3d Regiment, on its
‘ March to Farruckabad.

‘ Sir,

‘ If, upon your arrival with the Sezawal and his Dewan at
‘ Farruckabad, you should find no danger of any opposition,
‘ or personal danger to them, you will be pleased to proceed on,
‘ through Berelly, to Cazem Ally Khan, collector of the dis-
‘ tricts in Rohileund, which lately formed the Jagheer and
‘ Jaidads of Letafut Ally Khan, and give him such support in
‘ his business as he may require.

‘ It may be useful to inform you, for your guidance, that
‘ the Sezawal of Farruckabad has one thousand Nejeebs allow-
‘ ed him, by the Nabob Vizier, for his defence—From which
‘ you will be able to judge how far he may be safe without your
‘ aid.

‘ I have the honour to be,

‘ Sir,

‘ Lucknow,

‘ Your, &c.

‘ the 19th Sept. 1782.

‘ Mr. Middleton to Major Thomas Scott.

‘ To Major Thomas Scott, commanding at Farruckabad.

‘ Sir,

‘ I have been honoured with the receipt of your favours of
‘ the 22d and 25th instant.

‘ I am much surprized at Mahomed Seyed Khan, and Roy
‘ Haranund's not having been to wait upon you. I have wrote
‘ to them my sentiments of such behaviour.

‘ By a letter I have this day received from the Sezawal, he
‘ informs me your presence is absolutely necessary. I must,
‘ therefore, request you will remain where you are, and afford
‘ him

‘ him every assistance in your power, till you receive further instructions.

‘ I have the honour to be,

‘ Sir,

‘ Your, &c.’

‘ Lucknow,

‘ 29 Sept. 1782.

‘ To Nathaniel Middleton, Esquire.

‘ Sir,

‘ I send by the bearer bills of exchange amounting to forty thousand rupees, and request you will direct him where to carry them.

‘ I am, Sir, &c.

(Signed)

‘ GEORGE SHEE.’

‘ To Nathaniel Middleton, Esquire.

‘ Sir,

‘ The busy scene in which I have for some days past been engaged will, I hope, obtain me your excuse, for not having before this time acknowledged the receipt of your letter, dated the 5th instant, which I had the honour of receiving previous to my arrival at this place.

‘ A farmer, of the name of Fukke Rasla Khaun, having repeatedly applied to me for military aid, assuring me, that unless I afforded it to him, he had no prospect of collecting any part of the revenues of several Pergunnahs which he rents from the Nabob Muzuffer Jung, and which are made over to his Excellency the Vizier, I determined to give him such assistance as I had power to grant, should I find its operations necessary; but previously to endeavour, by fair means, to bring the refractory Zemindars to reason. On my arrival at this place I found that his representation was just, and that the obstruction to his collections was occasioned principally by the conduct of a Zemindar of the name of Porty Sing, who, presuming upon the strength of a fort that he possessed, and a garrison which he had collected, composed of May Walties, and other freebooters, not only refused to pay his revenues, but formed a league with the neighbouring Zemindars, sent parties to plunder the surrounding country, and instead of obeying my summons to attend and settle his annual Bundabust, fired at my people when they arrived within gun shot of his fort, which, after such conduct, I thought it absolutely necessary to attack.

‘ For want of battering cannon, or any kind of artillery, but three honeycomb field pieces, I am obliged, in carrying on my approaches, to have recourse to the tedious process of sap. However, as I have now advanced, and am securely intrenched within fifty yards of the rampart, I hope in three days

‘ at

' at furthest to put the farmer in possession of the fort, which
 ' will enable him to make an immediate settlement and collec-
 ' tion of his revenues, and prevent any Zemindar in future from
 ' withholding his Kist, on a supposition that his fort is not to be
 ' taken, as few others can be found in this country so strong as
 ' Vizier Gunge. I was induced myself to take this necessary
 ' service, from his Excellency the Vizier having, on a former
 ' occasion, when I applied for the assistance of a battalion from
 ' Futty Ghur, refused me any kind of military aid; and ac-
 ' quainted me, through the Resident at his court, that I must
 ' trust to the Nuzzeibs allowed me to assist in my collections,
 ' for such services as should be found necessary. Should I suc-
 ' ceed against Vizier Gunge, and be able to make a temporary
 ' settlement in Marara, I hope not to have further occasion for
 ' military force for some time, as the collections in the rest of
 ' the Pergunnahs are made as fast as can be expected, consider-
 ' ing the dearth of rain, and scanty first crop the lands have of
 ' course produced.

' It is at present utterly impossible for me to determine, with
 ' any degree of accuracy, what amount I shall be able to remit
 ' in the course of the present year, in liquidation of his Excel-
 ' lency's demands on the Nabob Mozuffer Jung. But, con-
 ' sidering to how trifling a sum the collections of Farruckabad,
 ' for the last three years, amounted, the late want of rain, and
 ' the necessity of leaving in the hands of the Nabob, his family,
 ' and numerous relations and followers, at least a maintenance,
 ' I should conceive the sum specified in his Excellency the Vizier's
 ' assignments exceeds by much that which I shall be able to
 ' remit. I can only say, that no effort shall, on my part, be
 ' wanting to render the latter as considerable as possible. I
 ' shall in all probability be able to form an opinion upon the sub-
 ' ject with greater precision in the course of a few days, when
 ' I propose going to Lucknow. In the interim, a copy of the
 ' Kist Bundie of any former year would, I conceive, be the best
 ' guide that could be found in forming one for the present; as
 ' it cannot well be expected, considering my short residence in
 ' this place, the present state of the country, &c. that any con-
 ' siderable increase of this year's revenue will be possible.

' Inclosed you will be pleased to receive bills of exchange,
 ' amounting to twenty thousand rupees, in part payment of
 ' the Nabob Mozuffer Jung's tribute to his Excellency the
 ' Vizier.

' I have the honour to be,

' Sir, &c.

' GEORGE SHEE.'

' Curfance,
 15th Dec. 1780.

' To

‘ To Nathaniel Middleton, Esq.

‘ Sir,

‘ I have the honour to inclose bills of exchange, amounting
‘ to Lucknow rupees 33,606. 14. on account his Excellency
‘ the Vizier’s assignments to the Honourable Company on Farruckabad.

‘ Farruckabad,

‘ I am, Sir, &c.

‘ 19th January 1781.

‘ G. SHEE.’

‘ To Nathaniel Middleton, Esquire.

‘ Sir,

‘ I have the honour to inclose you bills of exchange for
‘ twenty thousand Lucknow Sicca rupees, on account his Excellency the Vizier’s assignments on Farruckabad.

‘ I have the honour to be,

‘ Farruckabad,

‘ Sir, &c.

‘ 17th February 1781.

‘ G. SHEE.’

‘ To Nathaniel Middleton, Esq.

‘ Sir,

‘ Inclosed you will please to receive bills of exchange for
‘ twenty thousand rupees, on account his Excellency’s assignments to the Honourable Company on Farruckabad.

‘ Farruckabad,

‘ I am, Sir, &c.

‘ 23d March 1781.

‘ GEORGE SHEE.’

‘ To Nathaniel Middleton, Esquire.

‘ Sir,

‘ Inclosed you will please to receive bills of exchange on
‘ Lucknow, amounting to twenty-five thousand rupees, which
‘ I request you will pass to the credit of my collections.

‘ Farruckabad,

‘ I am, Sir, &c.

‘ 9th April 1781.

‘ GEORGE SHEE.’

‘ To Nathaniel Middleton, Esquire.

‘ Sir,

‘ Inclosed you will please to receive thirty thousand rupees in
‘ bills of exchange on Lucknow, on account of his Excellency’s
‘ assignments to the Honourable Company on Farruckabad.

‘ Farruckabad,

‘ I am, Sir, &c.

‘ 30th April.

‘ GEORGE SHEE.’

‘ To Nathaniel Middleton, Esquire, Collector General, &c.

‘ Lucknow.

‘ Sir,

‘ I have the honour to inclose bills of exchange on Lucknow
‘ for

‘ for half a lack of rupees, for which I request you will please
‘ to give credit to the collections under my charge.

‘ I have the honour to be, Sir,

‘ Your most obedient, and

‘ Farruckabad,

‘ most humble servant,

‘ 20th May 1781.

‘ (Signed) GEORGE SHEE.

‘ Collector of the Vizier’s Assignments at Farruckabad.’

‘ To Nathaniel Middleton, Esq. Collector General, &c.

‘ Lucknow.

‘ Sir,

‘ I had the honour to address you on the 20th ultimo, in-
‘ closing bills of exchange for fifty thousand rupees, on account
‘ the collections under my charge. The intention of my pre-
‘ sent address is solely to cover a remittance of forty-six thou-
‘ sand two hundred and ninety-three rupees two annas, on the
‘ same account.

‘ I have the honour to be, Sir,

‘ Farruckabad,

‘ Your most obedient humble servant,

‘ the 16th June 1781.

‘ (Signed) GEORGE SHEE.

‘ Coll. of the Vizier’s Assignments on Farruckabad.’

‘ To Nathaniel Middleton, Esquire.

‘ Sir,

‘ Some thieves having broke into Lieutenant Hutchinson’s
‘ Bungalow here a few nights ago, and robbed him, he dis-
‘ patched Hircarrahs in quest of them, who came up with them
‘ in Farruckabad, where they had been detected in the same
‘ practices, and where a crowd had assembled round them. One
‘ of the thieves in the scuffle dropt a white chillumchee,
‘ belonging to Lieutenant Hutchinson, which his Hircarrahs
‘ knowing, they immediately called for assistance, when four
‘ fellows, who had committed the robbery, were apprehended and
‘ confined in a guard which Mr. Shee the Collector mounts in
‘ Farruckabad.

‘ As I understand this gentleman is under your orders, I re-
‘ quest you will be pleased to inform me, as soon as possible,
‘ whether he is invested with the government of that city, and
‘ with the exclusive power there, as it would seem by his letter
‘ to Captain Serymgcour, in reply to a note which he had sent
‘ him by my direction (a copy of which correspondence I have the
‘ honour to inclose you), that he considers himself in this light, by
‘ declaring that he has guards there, and that he should not have
‘ delivered up the prisoners, had they still been in his custody;
‘ his exception to Captain Serymgcor’s note is certainly without
‘ reason, and his answer to it very improper.

‘ I wrote to the Nabob of Farruckabad, requesting he
‘ would

‘ would deliver up the prisoners in question ; but he declines it,
 ‘ through apprehension of the Collector, and declares *he has no*
 ‘ *power to put his orders in execution* : as this is the case, I shall
 ‘ not take the prisoners per force out of his jail, but shall order
 ‘ a detachment of sufficient strength to take post in the city, for
 ‘ the purpose of apprehending persons accused of crimes com-
 ‘ mitted in cantonments ; and the officer commanding this de-
 ‘ tachment will have my orders to perform his duty, whatever
 ‘ opposition he may meet with, and from whatever quarter it
 ‘ comes. I have informed the Nabob of Farruckabad, that all
 ‘ persons committing crimes in Farruckabad, or the surrounding
 ‘ districts (not being Sepoys or followers of the camp) should be
 ‘ delivered up on his application ; and that I expect he will pay
 ‘ the same attention to my application to him, it being necessary,
 ‘ for the sake of example, that criminals should, if possible, be
 ‘ punished on the spot where the crime was committed.

‘ As I consider Mr. Shee as being under your orders, I shall
 ‘ take no step therefore towards sending troops into the city,
 ‘ till I receive your answer to this letter. I was given to under-
 ‘ stand, that Mr. Shee was only to be considered as a Collector,
 ‘ and that the Government and executive power were vested in
 ‘ the Nabob ; but it appears, that Mr. Shee considers all the
 ‘ officers of Government as under his direction, and issues his
 ‘ orders to them as such, and that the Nabob of Farruckabad
 ‘ also receives his orders. I request you will give him directions
 ‘ to desist from any interference with the Government of the city,
 ‘ the near neighbourhood of which renders it a very convenient
 ‘ asylum for all persons guilty of crimes in these cantonments.

‘ The Governor General being invested with the full powers
 ‘ of Government, during his absence from the Presidency, I
 ‘ shall take occasion to state this matter to him, when I have the
 ‘ honour of seeing him ; but the posting troops in the city will
 ‘ depend on your answer.

‘ Head Quarters,

‘ I am, &c.

‘ Futtu Ghur, August 1st.

‘ JOHN CUMMING.’

‘ To Nathaniel Middleton, Esquire, Resident at Lucknow.

‘ Sir,

‘ In obedience to the commands of the Honourable the Go-
 ‘ vernor General, I beg leave to send, accompanying this, an
 ‘ account of my collections and disbursements, to the time of
 ‘ my removal from office ; also such other papers as were in
 ‘ my possession regarding the Vizier’s assignments on Farruck-
 ‘ abad, agreeable to the following list.

‘ I have the honour to be,

‘ Lucknow,

‘ Sir,

‘ 6th December 1781.’

‘ Your most obedient servant,

‘ (Signed) GEORGE SHEE.’

L

‘ 40 Far-

- ‘ 40 Farmers bonds, as per particular list.
- ‘ Jumma Wauffool Baukey, for 1187.
- ‘ Ditto — — for 1188.
- ‘ Ditto — — for 1189.
- ‘ 14 Shroffs Rookas, for Rs 8137.
- ‘ Attested copies of each Farmer’s Phurd Wuffool, signed and
‘ sealed by him, specifying the exact sum he has paid me to
‘ the time of my removal.
- ‘ Paper explaining the Phurd Wuffools.
- ‘ Ditto explaining the bonds.
- ‘ The Aumil Deepchund’s Wauffool Baukey, 3 papers
- ‘ Wauffaulath of the Purgunnahs of Cumpull, Caimgunge,
‘ Sawar, Puttially.
- ‘ Hyfab Jumma Khurtch between the Vizier and the Col-
‘ lector.
- ‘ Ditto between the Nabob Murzuffer Jung and the Collector.
- ‘ Jumma Wauffool Baukey of the Vizier’s demands and re-
‘ cepts from Farruckabad.
- ‘ Attested copy of the Nabob Murzuffer Jung’s Naib’s De-
‘ claration regarding the adjustment of the Farmers ac-
‘ counts.’

‘ To Nathaniel Middleton, Esquire, Resident at the Vizier’s
‘ Court.

‘ Sir,

‘ I beg leave to send you with this two elephants, which were
‘ received by a former Sizawal of Farruckabad, from one of the
‘ Aumils, as a security for a balance due by him of five thousand
‘ rupees. Finding the recovery of this sum impracticable, I
‘ thought it adviseable to bring with me the elephants; and I
‘ beg you will be pleased to credit my collections for their
‘ amount.

‘ I have the honour to be, Sir,

‘ Lucknow,

‘ Your most obedient servant,

‘ 10th December 1781.’

‘ (Signed) GEORGE SHEE.’

‘ To Nathaniel Middleton, Esq. Resident at the Vizier’s Court.

‘ Sir,

‘ I have been honoured with the receipt of your letter, dated
‘ the 14th ultimo, directing that I transmit you every authentic
‘ information I can give on the subject of the late Rajah Cheit
‘ Sing’s intrigues at Farruckabad; also, that I acquaint you of
‘ the state of that country, and disposition of its inhabitants,
‘ during the late rebellion at Benares.

‘ In obedience to your command, I beg leave to inform you,
‘ that though I had it not in my power, at the period to which
‘ you allude, to intercept any letter from the rebel Cheit Sing
‘ to the Nabob of Farruckabad, or by other means to obtain
‘ any

any document on which to found a positive charge of disaffection, against any particular individual of note, I had still grounds sufficient to produce in my mind the most positive conviction, that a large body of Patans, impatiently waiting a favourable opportunity to join any power hostile to the Company or adverse to his Excellency the Vizier.

For near three weeks, the town of Morva Place, distant about ten coss from Farruckabad, has exhibited a continued scene of warlike preparation.—During this period, I repeatedly sent persons, on whose veracity I could rely, to obtain intelligence regarding the object proposed by such armament; and the information I uniformly received was, that the Nabob Murzuffer Jung had privately ordered several Patan Chiefs to collect their followers, and hold themselves in readiness to join his standard at a moment's warning.—I was more inclined to give credit to this intelligence than I otherwise should have been, from a circumstance I have already had the honour to communicate to you, namely, the Gofain Ilimut Bahadur, and a person of the name of Maharban Kan, formerly Naib to Murzuffer Jung, having separately written letters, the originals of which are in my possession, to an Aumil of note in the country of Farruckabad, enjoining him, in the most pressing terms, to prepare magazines of grain and other necessaries for an army, which they assured him would accompany them, in the course of a very few days, into his the Aumil's Purgunnas, from the country of Nudjiff Cawn; and directing him, on no pretence, to pay any part of his revenues to any person whatever, previous to their arrival. Were the Nabob Murzuffer Jung possessed of judgment sufficient to distinguish right from wrong, or to determine between that line of political conduct which tended to the advancement of his interest, and that likely to cause his ruin, I should not conceive a possibility of his entering into correspondence with the enemies of those by whose protection he exists; but, when his natural weakness is considered, the perpetual course of debauchery and dissipation in which he lives, and the corruption and baseness of the persons by whose counsels he is ruled, I must confess, there is no act of folly, political or private, I should think too great in degree for him to perform.

I have the honour to be,

Farruckabad,

Sir,

18th November 1781.

Your most obedient servant,

(Signed) GEORGE SHEE.

To Richard Johnson, Esquire, Resident at the Vizier's Court.

Sir,

I have this day been honoured with your letter of the 22d instant.

‘ instant. Agreeable to your orders, I shall march for Farruk-
‘ kabad, and halt at Fatty Ghur, until I receive further in-
‘ structions.

‘ I shall begin my march, immediately upon my being joined
‘ by the two companies at Sumroota, cross the Ganges at Dal-
‘ mow, and take the route of Corah, Chychindy, and near by
‘ Kenoge, as it is the best route for guns, and of consequence
‘ the shortest. As part of my ammunition is damaged, I would
‘ beg a letter from you to Colonel Morgan, to have serviceable
‘ ammunition sent me to Chychindy, in lieu of it, for which I
‘ shall indent, that I may not be detained.

‘ I have the honour to be,

‘ Sir,

‘ Your, &c.

‘ Camp, near Peernagur, ‘ (Signed) THO^s. SCOTT.
‘ 25th August 1782. ‘ Major 3d Reg. Sepoys.’

‘ Camp, near Peernagur, 28th August 1782.

‘ Sir,

‘ I have the honour to inform you, that being joined by the
‘ companies I had at Sumroota, I leave Peernagur with my de-
‘ tachment this night.

‘ I have the honour to be, Sir,

‘ Your’s, &c.

‘ (Signed) THO^s SCOTT, Major,
‘ Commanding a detach. 2d Brigade.’

‘ To Richard Johnson, Esquire,
‘ Resident at the Vizier’s Court.

‘ To Nathaniel Middleton, Esquire, Resident at the Vizier’s
‘ Court, Lucknow.

‘ Sir,

‘ I acquainted Mr. Johnson of my having left the detachment,
‘ and proceeded by Dawk to Cawnpore, to have a supply of am-
‘ munition in place of what I had damaged, and which was
‘ absolutely necessary to have.

‘ The detachment will be at Chychindy to-morrow morning;
‘ every thing will be in readiness for them by the 12th, and I
‘ shall march them from that the same night, by the route of
‘ Surajapore, Muckenpore, &c. to Fatty Ghur. I was just now
‘ acquainted by Major Mac Donald of your being at Lucknow,
‘ or would have done myself the honour to have addressed you
‘ on my arrival.

‘ I have the honour to be,

‘ Sir,

‘ Your, &c.

‘ Cawnpore, ‘ (Signed) THO^s SCOTT, Major
‘ the 10th September 1782. ‘ Commanding a detach. 2nd Brigade.’

‘ Camp

‘ Camp near Farruckabad, Sept. 22d, 1782.

‘ Sir,

‘ I have been honoured with your letter of the 19th instant ;
 ‘ and shall, if there appears any danger of opposition to the Seza-
 ‘ wal and his Dewan, remain a few days longer, and afterwards
 ‘ proceed, agreeable to your instructions, through Berelly, to
 ‘ Cazan Ally Khan, collector of the districts in Rohilcund.

‘ I was reached upon, the day after my arrival, by Subkt
 ‘ Ulla Khan; and gave him my advice, to comply with
 ‘ the orders sent him. I as yet have not seen Ray Harranund,
 ‘ nor Mahomed Seyed Khan, from which I conclude they have
 ‘ no danger of opposition to their measures; as if they had, I
 ‘ make no doubt they would have been with me some days ago,
 ‘ and paid me every mark of attention: when I see them, I
 ‘ shall be better able to judge how matters are, and act accord-
 ‘ ingly.

‘ I have the honour to be, Sir,

‘ To Nathl. Middleton,

‘ Your’s, &c.

‘ Esqr. Resident at the

‘ (Signed) THO^s. SCOTT,

‘ Court of the Vizier.

‘ Major Commanding.’

‘ Major Thomas Scott to Mr. Middleton.

‘ Sir,

‘ At the request of the Sezawal and his Dewan, I have agreed
 ‘ to remain here until I have your answer. They think they are
 ‘ not in safety, if I should march from this; but, as so many
 ‘ battalions are said to be upon their road here, I think I may
 ‘ with safety leave this; and the business, at all events, will be
 ‘ easily transacted when the troops arrive.

‘ I have the honour to be, Sir,

‘ Your’s, &c.

‘ Camp near Farruckabad,

‘ (Signed) THO^s. SCOTT.’

‘ 25th Sept. 1782.

‘ To Nathaniel Middleton, Esquire, Resident at the Court of
 ‘ the Vizier.

‘ Sir,

‘ I have the honour of your letter of the 29th Sept. and shall,
 ‘ agreeable to your orders, remain at this place, and afford such
 ‘ assistance to the Sezawal as he may deem requisite, until I re-
 ‘ ceive your further orders.

‘ It appears, from what I can learn, that the demands of the
 ‘ Sezawal will not be complied with unless force is used; and,
 ‘ from the disposition of the country, and the Patans in Farruc-
 ‘ kabad, it must be used with caution, otherwise the Sezawal and
 ‘ his

‘ his Dewan would be cut off before they could be assisted from
‘ my camp.

‘ I have the honour to be,

‘ Sir,

‘ Your, &c.

‘ Camp near Farruckabad,
‘ 1st October, 1782.’

‘ (Signed)

THO^s SCOTT,
‘ Major Coms.’

‘ Camp near Farruckabad, 6th October 1782.

‘ To Nathaniel Middleton, Esquire, Resident at the Court of
‘ the Vizier.

‘ Sir,

‘ I have seen Herranun, but it is several days ago : neither
‘ do I know from him nor Mahomed Seyed Khan, any thing
‘ of their transactions ; but from other channels, I have learned
‘ as much as induces me to believe, that Meer Subkt Ulla is
‘ collecting more people ; he has now more than 1500, mostly
‘ Patans, about his house, where he remains shut up ; he used
‘ frequently to come to my camp, but of late has not.

‘ The attendants of the Sezawal and the Naib’s people are
‘ daily quarrelling ; I expect therefore, hourly, there will be a
‘ disturbance in Farrackabad, and should be glad to receive
‘ your instructions.

‘ The streets are narrow, houses high, and of stone in brick,
‘ and gateways several within the town. The house that the
‘ Naib Meer Subkt Ulla is now in is large, and well inclosed,
‘ on which the 6 Pounder, I intended carrying for field ser-
‘ vice, would have no impression ; I should be happy that a
‘ couple of 12 or 18 pounders were sent me, with sufficient am-
‘ munition and people for them, from Lucknow, which would
‘ place me in a situation that I could assert, and open myself a
‘ way, if occasion required it. There are iron 18 pounders
‘ that I brought up to Sujah Ull Dowlah in the Rohilla cam-
‘ paign, which are good, and would answer all purposes.

‘ As I am, should Subkt Ulla Khan, the Naib, commence
‘ an attack, and keep in the town, my situation would be very
‘ awkward indeed,

‘ I have the honour to be,

‘ Sir, your, &c.

‘ (Signed)

THO. SCOTT, Major,
‘ Commanding at Farruckabad.’

‘ To Nathaniel Middleton, Esquire, Resident at the Court of
‘ the Vizier.

‘ Sir,

‘ Since I did myself the honour to address you last, every
‘ thing is settled here : the former Naib, Subkt Ulla Khan,
‘ has left the country, and the people he had collected dispersed ;
‘ and, as Mahomed Sud Khan, the Sezawul, acquaints me he

‘ has

‘ has no further occasion for assistance, I shall be happy to be
‘ honoured with your orders respecting my marching, or re-
‘ maining here.

‘ I have the honour to be,

‘ Sir, your very, &c. &c.

‘ Camp near Farruckabad, ‘ (Signed) THO^s. SCOTT,
‘ 20th October 1782.’ ‘ Major Commanding.

‘ To the Honourable Board.

‘ Honourable Sir, and Gentlemen,

‘ I have been duly honoured with your letter of the 22nd
‘ ultimo, appointing Mr. George Shee, in the place of the na-
‘ tive Sezawal, to collect the Vizier’s assignment to the Com-
‘ pany on the Nabob of Farruckabad.

‘ Mr. Shee having been some days arrived, has received my
‘ instructions, and the necessary papers and informations, to fulfil
‘ the intentions of his appointment, and will set off for Farruc-
‘ kabad this evening.

‘ It having always been customary for the Nabob to grant a
‘ Perwannah on a new appointment of this kind, I yesterday
‘ waited upon his Excellency with Mr. Shee, and informed him
‘ that Mr. Shee had waited on him to take his leave, to proceed
‘ to his appointment, and that I requested he would give his
‘ Perwannah. His Excellency answered, that the Tuncaw was
‘ given to the Company, and that the appointment was at my
‘ disposal, but declined giving the Perwannah.

‘ Lucknow, ‘ I am with respect, &c. &c.
‘ 17th June 1780.’ ‘ (Signed) C. PURLING.’

‘ To the Honourable Board.

‘ Honourable Sir, and Gentlemen,

‘ As difference of opinion having arisen between Mr. Shee
‘ and me, concerning Mozuffer Jung’s annual deputation of a
‘ person to the Nabob Vizier, in order to adjust the accounts of
‘ the past, and the demand for the ensuing year, I beg leave to
‘ transmit you our correspondence on this subject, and hope you
‘ will be pleased to signify your determination thereon.

‘ Mr. Shee has desired I will likewise transmit you a corres-
‘ pondence concerning a recommendation I made to him for
‘ the acceptance of a proposal from Almas Ally Khaun, and
‘ the reduction of the Fort of Nedouly, in the province of Far-
‘ ruckabad.

‘ I am with respect,

‘ Honourable Sir, and Gentlemen,

‘ Lucknow, ‘ Yours, &c. &c.
‘ October 7th, 1780.’ ‘ (Signed) C. PURLING.’

‘ T.

' To the Honourable Warren Hastings, Governor General,
' &c. &c. &c.

' Sir,

' I have herewith the honour to submit to you, an account
' of my current claims for the present year upon the Nabob
' Vizier, amounting to Rs 70,99,882, for which amount I
' have received assignments, as per the inclosed list, for Rs
' 76,38,114, in which I have been necessitated to include the
' Nabob's demand for the current year upon Farruckabad ; and
' as his Excellency has now totally withdrawn his Sezawool
' from the collection of it, as well as every interference whatever,
' I beg I may be honoured with your instructions, whether Mu-
' zuffer Jung is to pay the amount at the Presidency, or, as
' usual, to me. Khyragur is in the same predicament, the
' Vizier having no authority over the present Aumil ; the rest I
' have little doubt of receiving. For the large balance now due
' from the Nabob, I am given strong hopes of receiving Assetts
' from the funds expected by the recovery of the Nabob's pater-
' nal estate, hitherto withheld by his mother, but which he has
' now demanded. The result is yet in suspense ; as soon as any
' certainty of the grounds of this expectation can be determined,
' and may come to my knowledge, I shall not fail to impart it
' to you.

' The new-regulation of resuming the Jaghires is carrying into
' execution in every part of these extensive provinces, and, when
' effected, will afford a very material increase in the Nabob's
' revenues.

' The order of 7 lacks upon them could not be increased this
' year, as, before the seizure can be compleated, the collections
' upon the first crop will be over ; besides which, many of the
' Jagherdars having strong family claims upon the Nabob, he
' has been obliged to assign ready money payment in lieu of the
' rents of the lands.

' I have the honour to be, &c. &c,

' Lucknow, (Signed) NATHL. MIDDLETON.
' the 30th December 1781.

' EXTRACT of a Letter from Nathl. Middleton to the Ho-
' nourable Warren Hastings, Governor General, and the
' Members of the Supreme Council, Fort William, dated
' Lucknow, the 7th September, 1782.

' Upon the 6th article, the Honourable Board have anticipated
' my reply, by adverting to what they conjecture may have been
' the cause of the total failure in the collections from Farruc-
' kabad, which was, as they have justly supposed, an improper
' advantage taken by Murzuffer Jung of the mediation em-
' ployed with the Nabob Vizier in his behalf. I have there-
' fore, immediately upon receipt of your orders, withdrawn
' all

all mediation and interference which stood between the Nabob Vizier and the collection of his tribute from Farruckabad, and afforded him the assistance directed, by sending a regiment to support the Sezawal appointed by his Excellency for the collection of the tribute of the ensuing year, and have added my instructions to the same agent, to collect the assignment of seven and half lacks, first above-mentioned, upon the tribute and balances due to the end of the current year; and as I have anticipated the success of this trust, by raising this amount among the other balances, as above stated, I have the satisfaction to reflect that the Honourable Board will not even feel the inconveniency arising from the delay that the mediation in favour of Murzuffer Jung has occasioned.

It may be proper to explain, that the excess of disbursements beyond the estimated amount, has arisen from two causes—the first was, that the troops of Futy Ghur, and Mr. Wombwell's office and establishment, received their pay and allowances beyond the date stipulated by treaty (upon which the estimate was made) because the Nabob's finances not being adequate to the immediate discharge of their balances, and this being a previous condition of the treaty, their pay and usual disbursements went on, until they could be fully paid up. —Secondly, the army debts were rated in the estimate at five lacks, and have in the result much exceeded that sum, which unavoidably caused the diversion of assets to that channel, which were expressly granted and intended for other purposes. —This unforeseen accumulation of the army debts, and the preference which it was my duty to shew to the Honourable Company's claims, have necessarily retarded the payment of the late Vizier's promised donation to the 2d brigade, which I hope will meet your approbation, as that sum, as well as the fourteen lacks unliquidated of the Honourable Company's new claim, will be an easy provision with the current demands of the ensuing year, the full amount of which I have not a doubt of being able to realize.

I am willing to flatter myself, that, under your indulgence, I shall appear to have acquitted myself of the responsibility annexed to my office, your public testimony upon which I am the more anxious to merit, as the many unforeseen and uncommon obstacles which have occurred in the course of this year, rendered me apprehensive, that the effects of my exertions might fall short of your expectations.

I have the honour to be with great respect,

Honourable Sir, and Sirs,

Your most obedient humble servant,

Lucknow, (Signed) NATHL. MIDDLETON.
the 7th September 1782.

‘ To Mr. John Bristow, Resident at the Court of the Nabob of
‘ Oude.

‘ Sir,

‘ We have received intelligence from the Nabob Muzuffer
‘ Jung, at Farruckabad, that he has been deprived of authority,
‘ and reduced to great indigence and distress, by the knavery of
‘ his servants, and by the means of Monickram, late Banian to
‘ Major Polier: that about ten weeks ago he dispatched his Va-
‘ keel, Subjutula Cawn, with letters representing his situation,
‘ addressed to this Board; and some original Sunnuds which had
‘ been granted by the King to his ancestors; but his Minister
‘ Mahurbaun Cawn, who keeps him under great constraint,
‘ detecting the charge intrusted to his Vakeel, caused him,
‘ through the treachery of the said Monickram, to be thrown
‘ into confinement, by order of the Nabob Asoph ul Dowla;
‘ and it is supposed, that by the same means he has got possession
‘ of the Sunnuds and papers from the Vakeel. We desire you
‘ will immediately enquire into the truth of the circumstances
‘ above related, and obtain from the Nabob Asoph ul Dowlah an
‘ order for the release of the Vakeel, with a passport from him
‘ to proceed to this Presidency.

‘ We are, Sir,

‘ Your humble servants,

‘ (Signed)

‘ WARREN HASTINGS,

‘ J. CLAVERING,

‘ GEO. MONSON,

‘ RICH^d BARWELL,

‘ P. FRANCIS.’

‘ Fort William,
‘ 29th Nov. 1775.’

‘ To Mr. Charles Purling, Resident at the Court of the Nabob
‘ of Oude.

‘ Sir,

‘ The Nabob Muzzuffer Jung, of Farruckabad, having fre-
‘ quently complained to this Government of the hardships and
‘ indignities to which he is subjected by the conduct of the Si-
‘ zauwol stationed in his country for the purpose of receiving
‘ the annual tribute, which he is bound by treaty to pay to the
‘ Subah of Oude, and which has invariably constituted a part of
‘ the funds assigned by his Excellency for the liquidation of the
‘ public demands of the Company upon him; and thinking it
‘ incumbent on us to use such means as occur to us to be most
‘ expedient to his relief, we have thought proper to appoint Mr.
‘ George Shee, one of the civil servants of the Company, in the
‘ place of the native Sizauwol, to collect the Vizier’s assign-
‘ ment to the Company on the Nabob of Farrackabad, with the
‘ same allowances, establishment, and powers, that have been
‘ given to the said Sizauwol. Mr. George Shee has been directed
‘ to proceed with all possible expedition to Lucknow; on his
‘ arrival

‘ arrival at which place, we desire you will invest him with the
‘ charge of the office to which we have appointed him, and give
‘ him such instructions for his conduct in the discharge of it as
‘ you may think necessary.

‘ We are, Sir,

‘ Your obedient humble servants,

‘ (Signed) ‘ WARREN HASTINGS,

‘ Fort William, ‘ P. FRANCIS,

‘ the 22d May, 1780.

‘ EDW^d WHELER.’

‘ To Mr. George Shee, Collector of the Company’s Assign-
ments, &c. Farruckabad.

‘ Sir,

‘ Your services in the collection of the Company’s assignments
‘ on the district of Farruckabad being no longer required, you
‘ will be pleased to make over your accounts to the Resident at
‘ the Court of the Nabob Vizier, and repair to the Presidency.

‘ Chunar,

‘ I am, Sir,

‘ 23d September 1781.

‘ Your most obed^t servant,

‘ (Signed)

‘ WARREN HASTINGS.’

‘ To Mr. Nathaniel Middleton, Resident at the Vizier’s Court,
‘ Lucknow.

‘ Sir,

‘ I have annulled the office of Collector of the Company’s
‘ Assignments at Farruckabad, and directed Mr. Shee, the Col-
‘ lector, to repair to Lucknow and settle his accounts with you,
‘ for which you will give him proper discharges when adjusted.

‘ The Nabob Muzuffer Jung having acquainted me with his
‘ apprehensions of being called to Lucknow, in order to answer
‘ the demands of the Vizier upon him for tribute, &c. and hav-
‘ ing represented the disgrace and indignity to which he should
‘ be subjected by that measure, I desire that you will urge the
‘ Minister not to exact the personal attendance of the Nabob for
‘ adjusting of these claims, but to admit of their being settled by
‘ such person as he shall depute for that purpose.

‘ The injuries and indignities which the Nabob Mozuffer
‘ Jung has for a series of years sustained from the Court of Luck-
‘ now, reflect highly on the humanity and good faith of the
‘ Vizier; nor is our Government entirely exempted from the
‘ odium which has attended such treatment, since it is a matter
‘ of public notoriety, that unremitting application, since the
‘ year 1776, has been made by the Nabob Mozuffer Jung, for
‘ the interposition of our good offices towards alleviating his
‘ distresses. From the treaties subsisting between them, it does
‘ not appear that the Vizier has the smallest claim of sovereignty
‘ over Mozuffer Jung, or right to exercise authority of any kind
‘ over his person or dominions. No pretence is made of his

‘ having violated his engagements, or of having acted inimically
 ‘ towards the Vizier, nor have I heard a single reason assigned
 ‘ for the usurpations committed on his property and indepen-
 ‘ dency. When to all these considerations is added, the friendly
 ‘ disposition which Ahmud Khawn, the father of Mozuffer Jung,
 ‘ manifested on several occasions towards the Company, I think
 ‘ it incumbent upon me to exert the influence of our Govern-
 ‘ ment with the Vizier, for the relief and protection of Mo-
 ‘ zuffer Jung. I therefore desire that you will use such means
 ‘ as your situation of Resident affords you, to prevent any fur-
 ‘ ther interference of the Vizier or his Ministers in the in-
 ‘ ternal management of the country of Farruckabad; but that
 ‘ the Nabob be left in the free exercise of his undoubted autho-
 ‘ rity over his Subahdary, whilst he continues to execute with
 ‘ fidelity his engagements to the Vizier. I have written to his
 ‘ Excellency to the above effect.

‘ I am, Sir,

‘ Benares, ‘ Your most obedient humble servant,
 ‘ November 10th 1781. ‘ (Signed) WARREN HASTINGS.’

Extract of a Letter to Mr. Middleton.

‘ We observe that you have not received any part of the sum
 ‘ expected from Farruckabad, and are surprized that you have
 ‘ not intimated, either in your letters to the Board, or to the
 ‘ Governor General, the circumstances which have prevented
 ‘ you from receiving any part of the sum expected from the
 ‘ Nabob Mozuffer Jung; should they proceed from an advantage
 ‘ taken by him of our mediation with the Nabob Vizier, we
 ‘ direct that you do immediately afford him effectual assistance
 ‘ for the recovery of what may be due to him from Mozuffer
 ‘ Jung, and expressly withdraw all other interference with that
 ‘ Nabob.

‘ We are, Sir,

‘ Fort William, ‘ Your, &c.
 ‘ the 11th July 1782. ‘ (Signed) ‘ WARREN HASTINGS,
 ‘ EDWD WHEELER.’

‘ Translation of a Letter from the Resident at the Vizier’s Court
 ‘ to the Nabob of Farruckabad.

(After the usual compliments.)

‘ I have received your letter’ (recapitulates its contents.)

‘ The generous and liberal motives which induced the Go-
 ‘ vernor General to employ the mediation of the Company be-
 ‘ tween the Nabob Vizier and you, are known to the whole
 ‘ world, and require from me no explanation. It is equally no-
 ‘ torious what has been the effect produced by that mediation,
 ‘ which, however you may have understood it, I am well assured
 ‘ was never meant to impede, still less wholly to preclude, the
 ‘ collection

' collection of the Nabob Vizier's just claims upon you. The
 ' communications I have received from the Governor General,
 ' from the first to the last, respecting the nature and object of
 ' his indulgent mediation in your behalf, have corresponded in-
 ' variably with my own opinion on that subject. In his first
 ' letter relative to this matter, he informs me that he has con-
 ' sented to exert his endeavours with the Vizier to remove the
 ' restraint and controul which had been laid upon you for the
 ' collection of the tribute, and to prevail on his Excellency to
 ' receive his dues through your agents, instead of employing his
 ' own, for which purpose he had given the necessary instructions to
 ' Meer Suftoola Cawn, and dispatched him to the Nabob Vizier
 ' and myself, to adjust the accounts depending between you and
 ' his Excellency, and settle the future mode of payment. The
 ' Vizier most readily acceded to the Governor General's wishes
 ' on this point, and his Excellency's agents, and all sort of in-
 ' terference were in consequence instantly withdrawn: but this
 ' was done upon the faith of the Governor General's assurances,
 ' that you would take effectual care to prevent a measure, which
 ' had been adopted solely for your relief, from impeding the
 ' Vizier's legal and just claims; and, agreeably to the intima-
 ' tion I had from the Governor General, I waited patiently the
 ' arrival of Suftoola Cawn; but to my utter surprize I learnt,
 ' that instead of coming here, as directed, he went straight to
 ' Farruckabad, and publicly declared you absolved from any fur-
 ' ther claims of the Vizier. This being so contrary to the Go-
 ' vernor General's advices and commands to me, that I considered
 ' it merely a piece of artifice of Suftoola Cawn's to raise his
 ' own credit and consequence, and supposed you, as well as my-
 ' self, imposed upon. Upon having repeatedly written to you,
 ' in consequence of the Vizier's claim upon you having become
 ' a part of the funds assigned for the liquidation of his Excel-
 ' lency's engagements to the English Company, without receiv-
 ' ing any explicit or satisfactory answer, and no payments either
 ' made or seemingly intended, I was under the necessity of re-
 ' ferring the matter to the consideration and decision of the Go-
 ' vernor General; who, seeing the improper advantage which
 ' had been taken by you and your agents of his well-intended
 ' mediation, to the great prejudice of the Vizier, and the conse-
 ' quent injury of the Company's engagements with him, thought
 ' proper to withdraw any further interference between you, and
 ' to leave the Vizier uncontrouled in the prosecution of his just
 ' and reasonable claims upon you.

' The Vizier has thereupon been pleased to appoint a Sizau-
 ' wol for the collection of the balances due from you, as also for
 ' the provision of funds for the payment of the ensuing year's
 ' tribute; and it is proper inform you, that, as before it was
 ' my duty to use every means in my power to prevent any inter-
 ' ference

“ference with your Government, so it now becomes incumbent
 “upon me to yield every assistance I may be able to the Nabob
 “Vizier, to enable him to assert and recover those rights which
 “the perversion of an indulgence so generously procured for you,
 “has hitherto withheld from him. What shall I say more ?

“N. B. Mozuffer Jung, instead of tendering payment of his
 “tribute through his own agents, constantly denied owing any
 “thing to the Vizier. He and his agents, during the whole
 “year, appear totally to have mistaken the Governor General’s
 “humane interposition.

“The Vizier and his Ministers, foreseeing this probable con-
 “sequence, insisted upon the Farruckabad tribute being included
 “among the Company’s assignments, as appears in the following
 “extract of a letter from the Resident to the Governor General,
 “dated 30th December 1781 :

“I have herewith the honour to submit to you an account of
 “my current claims for the present year upon the Nabob Vizier,
 “amounting to rupees 70,99,882 ; for which amount I have
 “received assignments, as per the inclosed list, for Rs 76,38,114,
 “in which *I have been NECESSITATED to include the Nabob’s*
 “*demand for the current year upon Farruckabad ; and as his Excel-*
 “*lency has now totally withdrawn his Sizauwol from the collection of*
 “*it, as well as every interference whatever, I beg I may be honoured*
 “*with your instructions, whether Mozuffer Jung is to pay the*
 “*amount at the Presidency, or, as usual, to me ?* —Khyraghur is in
 “the same predicament, the Vizier having no authority over the
 “present Aumil.”

To report a progress, &c.

MINUTES, &c.

Lunæ, 5^e die Martii 1787.

COMMITTEE of the Whole House on the Articles of Charge of High Crimes and Misdemeanors, presented to the House against Warren Hastings, Esquire, late Governor General of Bengal.

CAPTAIN THOMAS MERCER called in, and examined.
Were you in Bengal in the year 1781?

I was.

Did you make any offer to any member of the Government of Fort William, to purchase the whole of the Company's opium at that time in Calcutta?

I did.

On what terms?

I cannot exactly ascertain whether it was 370 or 375 current rupees per chest; I think it was 375, but I am not certain.

How much did the whole purchase amount to?

To the amount of five lacks of rupees, I presume, or thereabouts. I was told there were 1300 chests; so I was informed.

In what manner did you offer to pay for it?

In ready money.

Then a member of the Committee produced a letter, which being shewn to the witness;

He was asked,

Is that your hand-writing?

It is; I wrote it yesterday.

Do you recollect ever having spoken to Mr. Francis before this day?

I never did.

Then the witness was directed to withdraw.

And the said letter was read, and is as followeth:

‘ To Philip Francis, Esq.

‘ Sir,

‘ Major Webber having called some days since at my friend
‘ Mr.

‘ Mr. Walker’s, in Upper Charlotte-street, to enquire if I was
 ‘ returned from Ireland, and Mr. Archdekin having called this
 ‘ morning when I was from home, and having mentioned to
 ‘ Mr. Walker the purport of the former gentleman’s visit, as
 ‘ well as of his own, which was to enquire, for your informa-
 ‘ tion, whether any positive or specific offer had been made by
 ‘ me to Mr. Hastings for the purchase of a considerable quantity
 ‘ of opium, which was exported on the account and risk of the
 ‘ Company, upon the pretext or supposition that merchants
 ‘ would not buy it as they always had done in the former years,
 ‘ and Mr. Archdekin having mentioned the probability of my
 ‘ being examined in a few days in the House of Commons
 ‘ touching the above business, I shall take the liberty of relating
 ‘ in this letter all I know of it, to the end that you may judge
 ‘ whether such an examination is of any importance or not, in
 ‘ the present stage of East India business.

‘ When the inutility and monstrous expence of the little Ben-
 ‘ gal squadron of little men of war had fully appeared, and Go-
 ‘ vernment thought proper in consequence thereof to sell the
 ‘ ships which composed it, I became the purchaser of the ship
 ‘ called the Resolution, and having followed no other than the
 ‘ trade to the Malay Coast and China, and meaning to continue
 ‘ it even upon a larger scale than heretofore, and to increase the
 ‘ probability of success therein, I thought it expedient to pro-
 ‘ ceed to Bombay, to dock and sheath my ship with copper.—
 ‘ This being done in June 1781, I arrived in Bengal in August
 ‘ of the same year, and had the mortification to be informed by
 ‘ my friend Mr. Charles Weston, that he had not provided any
 ‘ opium for me, because (said the honest man) it has not been
 ‘ this year put up to public sale, upon a presumption that there
 ‘ would not be any buyers, and we are told that it is all to be
 ‘ exported on the Company’s account, and the reason assigned
 ‘ for this novelty is, a presumed want of enterprize in the mer-
 ‘ chants to purchase.

‘ Upon this occasion I joked a little with my honest friend,
 ‘ asking him if any rumours of my death or shipwreck had been
 ‘ circulated in Calcutta, for without that the Governor and
 ‘ Council might presume there would be at least *one* very confi-
 ‘ derable purchaser.

‘ My friend Weston’s information, corroborated by the gene-
 ‘ ral report of the town, that the opium was this year to be ex-
 ‘ ported on the Company’s account, did not satisfy me.—I had
 ‘ prepared my ship at a large expence for an important voyage.
 ‘ —I was willing to buy opium, and would not drop the design
 ‘ until I should be informed by Government authority that it could
 ‘ not be effected. With this view I repaired to Mr. Wheler
 ‘ (Mr. Wheler at this time, August 1781, was acting Governor
 ‘ General, and Council in his sole person, Mr. Hastings being
 ‘ then

' then beleaguered or besieged in the fort of Chunar Ghur, in
 ' consequence of his memorable expedition to Benares) and Mr.
 ' Wheler informed me, that it had been resolved to export the
 ' opium of that year on the Company's account, and that this
 ' resolution had been taken from an opinion that merchants
 ' would not purchase as heretofore.—I expressed both surprise
 ' and disappointment.—Surprise ! because Charles Weston had
 ' an actual commission in his pocket to purchase a large quantity
 ' for me at whatever might be the market price, and to extend it
 ' still further and beyond my usual annual quantity in case the
 ' price was moderate.—Disappointment ! because I had prepared
 ' my ship at a great expence for an opium voyage, and did not
 ' at that moment know what to do with her.—Mr. W. said he
 ' was also sorry, and continuing the conversation, I saw that the
 ' exportation arrangement had been lately taken, for he (Mr. W.)
 ' confessed, that the ship of Mr. Thornhill, which was to carry
 ' the opium to China, was not then arrived from Bombay.

' Conceiving from this, that possibly the resolution of Coun-
 ' cil for exporting the opium on the Company's account was not
 ' irrevocably taken, I made what I thought a very bold, and
 ' what ought to have appeared a very advantageous offer to the
 ' Company, viz. to buy all the Company's opium then in Cal-
 ' cutta, amounting to 1300 Chests, and which was designed to
 ' be exported under the management of Mr. Thornhill, at the
 ' rate of 375 current rupees per chest ; and, as it was well
 ' known that the Treasury was at that time perfectly empty, I
 ' added, as an inducement, that I would pay the whole pur-
 ' chase money down in six days time.—Mr. Wheler refused, but
 ' in refusing he seemed to think it necessary to give reasons for
 ' rejecting a proposition which most men would have thought
 ' exceedingly apropos and convenient for the public emergen-
 ' cies ;—and certainly, Sir, his reasons were such as would not
 ' be offered by any one who had observed and reflected upon the
 ' general management of the Company's commercial affairs in
 ' India ; for example—If, says he, you expect to make advan-
 ' tage by purchasing this opium, and exporting it on your own
 ' account, why should not the Company expect an equal advan-
 ' tage upon the exportation of it on their own accounts ? To
 ' which I agreed, provided the Company could find a man to
 ' serve them with the same fidelity and industry as Thomas
 ' Mercer would use in serving himself. There passed much
 ' other conversation between us, and in conclusion he recom-
 ' mended to me to make my proposal to the Governor General,
 ' then at Chunar Ghur.—This I refused to do, telling Mr.
 ' Wheeler that the Governor General would either not answer
 ' my letter, or give an ambiguous and shuffling answer to it ;
 ' and I confess the last term, which is not a very respectful one,
 ' was purposely made use of, in order to observe the countenance

' of Mr. Wheler, and to discover whether any of the old im-
 ' pressions concerning Mr. Hastings still remained upon his
 ' mind. His answer and his manner both convinced me, that he
 ' had endeavoured to efface them. —I am sorry, says he, Cap-
 ' tain Mercer, to hear you express such sentiments of the Go-
 ' vernor General. To which I replied,—I am a simple unaf-
 ' fected man, and have always, throughout my life, sacrificed to
 ' truth, what in many cases I might have gained by a complai-
 ' sance for the passions and the foibles of great men, of whose weak-
 ' sides I am not altogether ignorant, having had to do with se-
 ' veral of them in different parts of the world.

' The audience was now closed, after telling Mr. Wheler
 ' that I would go home, and reduce my propositions into writ-
 ' ing, and would send them to him on that day ; observing, that
 ' when they should be permanently fixed upon paper, he would
 ' be better able to consider them with the attention which they
 ' deserved.

' This being done, and sent to Mr. Wheler, I received on
 ' the next day, either a note in writing, or a message (for at
 ' this distance of time I cannot recollect which) desiring to see
 ' me ; and having attended upon him accordingly, he told me,
 ' that he was sorry the Resolutions of Council could not be re-
 ' scinded ; and, after a pause, he discovered his chief motive for
 ' desiring to see me, by asking, Whether I considered my letter
 ' as a public or a private application ? I answered, That the
 ' matter of my letter was of public concern ; but that, being per-
 ' fectly indifferent as to the matter of appearing upon record as
 ' a large dealer in opium, I would leave it to himself to do
 ' with it as he thought proper ; for which he was pleased to
 ' thank me, and I took leave.

' The above contains the substance, and in many places the
 ' very words, which passed between Mr. Wheler and me,
 ' upon a subject which in the issue occasioned a very large loss
 ' to the Company. I had nothing to do with Mr. Hastings, and
 ' indeed refused to have any thing to do with him ; for I
 ' knew his love of novelty, and the exportation of opium to
 ' China being altogether novel, and attended with hazard, as
 ' being contraband, I knew enough of his temper to be per-
 ' suaded that he would maintain it with his wonted inflexibility.
 ' I knew assuredly that the man who negociated with the Berar
 ' Raja—who continued a war with the Marattas very long after
 ' he knew of the war with France—who would have given up
 ' the Northern Circars to the Nizam—and who would have
 ' ceded to the Dutch a valuable territory for the paltry and per-
 ' fectly inefficacious assistance of two thousand undisciplined
 ' Topasses, could not be diverted from his purpose by any re-
 ' presentations which I might make, and therefore I would not
 ' take the trouble of writing to him ; but I must do him justice,
 ' by

‘ by declaring my belief of his total ignorance of my propositions to Mr. Wheler, for I believe they were not communicated to him.

‘ I will not apologize to you, Sir, for the lengthened detail of the opium business, because I think it will not offend you; but I have cause to ask pardon for the intrusion of the greatest part of this page, as being foreign to it, and unconnected with it; but it is not easy to suppress our indignation, when we hear a man trumpeted forth as the Saviour of India, in whose conduct we can scarcely discern any thing but folly and absolute Quixotism; of which the facts above-mentioned are palpable examples.

‘ I have the honour to be, very respectfully,

‘ Sir, your most obedient, humble servant,

‘ Upper Charlotte

THO. MERCER.

‘ Street, 4 March, 1787.

Mr. WILLIAM YOUNG called in and examined.

Was you in Bengal in 1781?

I was.

In what situation was you there?

I was a covenanted civil servant of the East India Company, of the rank of senior merchant.

Had you any concern or interest in the performance of a contract for the provision of opium, in the year 1781?

I had the conducting of the business of the contract.

What interest had you in that contract?

I was interested in the success of it.

To what extent?

I undertook the management of it upon certain conditions, and if any advantage arose from the performance of those conditions, that advantage was mine; or if any losses were the consequence of the failure of success, those losses were mine.

What were the conditions?

I feel some difficulty in answering that question, because I conceive it subjects me to a breach of private confidence; though there is nothing in it, respecting myself, that I can have any objection to communicate to the whole world. I do not refuse answering the question if the committee insist upon my answering it.

Then the question was repeated, and the witness was directed to answer it.

The conditions were, the payment of a certain sum of money annually, and running all risks as to the success or failure of the business.

What sum of money was you engaged to pay, and to whom?

I was engaged to pay 149,000 rupees annually, and also to pay 10,000 rupees, stipulated in the original contract, to the East India company.

To whom was the annual payment to be made?

To Mr. John Benn, by half yearly instalments.

Who was the original contractor with government?

Mr. Stephen Sullivan.

What interest had Mr. Benn in the contract, and how did he acquire that interest?

I know of no other interest than that I have already stated.—I believe by purchase of Mr. Stephen Sullivan, as I purchased it of Mr. Benn.

What are your grounds for believing that Mr. Benn purchased it of Mr. Sullivan?

I understood it so from Mr. Benn himself.

What did Mr. Benn give for it?

I really do not know.

Was the annual payment you mentioned for the duration of the contract?

The annual payment that I made was to Mr. Benn.

For what period?

For four years, the term of the original contract.

Do you know at what time Mr. Sullivan transferred his interest to Mr. Benn?

If dates are meant, I really do not.

How soon after the date of the contract?

I should suppose, some time in the month of June, 1781.

And then the witness was directed to withdraw.

To report a progress, &c.

MINUTES, &c.

Martis, 27^e die Februarij 1787.

COMMITTEE of the Whole House on the Articles of Charge of High Crimes and Misdemeanors presented to the House against Warren Hastings, Esquire, late Governor General of Bengal.

NATHANIEL MIDDLETON, Esquire, being called in ;
And the Order for the Production of all his Letter Books, and other Correspondence in his Possession, relative to the Public Affairs of the Province of Oude, and its Dependencies, being read to him;

He was asked,

Have you received that Order ?

Yes. I have no Correspondence relative to the Affairs of Oude, but what is contained in the Books I delivered in to the Committee on Friday last.

Do those Books contain the whole Correspondence upon Public Matters during your Residency at Oude ?

I believe they do not. I believe I did not get complete Copies of all the Correspondence from the Office at Lucknow.

Do the Books contain all the Correspondence above described, that has been at any time in your possession ?

I cannot positively say they do ; for I recollect to have left some Correspondence at Lucknow, of which I have no Copies.

With whom did you leave that Correspondence ?

I left it in the Public Office at Lucknow—in the Resident's Office.

Had you no other Correspondence with Mr. Hastings, or others, on the Affairs of Oude, except those in the Books delivered in, or left in the Office at Lucknow ?

I believe I had ; for I have seen in the Papers laid before this House, Copies of Private Letters to Mr. Hastings, of which I kept no Copies.

And then the Witness was directed to withdraw.

To report a Progress, &c.

M I-

MINUTES, &c.

Jovis, 15^o die Martii 1787.

COMMITTEE of the Whole House on the Articles of Charge of High Crimes and Misdemeanors, presented to the House against Warren Hastings, Esquire, late Governor General of Bengal.

MR. ISAAC BAUGH called in, and examined.

Was you Secretary to the Supreme Council in Bengal, in the revenue department, in the year 1781?

I was.

Was you present at the Board at the time at which it was agreed to grant the Opium contract to Mr. Stephen Sullivan?

I was.

Did you suggest to the Governor General the propriety of advertising for proposals for that contract?

I did not.

Did Mr. Hastings make any declarations, intimating his reasons for granting that contract to Mr. Sullivan?

I do not recollect any particular reasons.

Did you make any objection to the draft of the contract, on the ground of its referring to written proposals when none such had been made?

I have some idea that I did, but I am not particular in my recollection.

Do you recollect what conversation passed on that occasion between you and Mr. Hastings?

I do not; but I believe that it was agreed at the Board, that in the preamble, the words "whereas written proposals have been delivered in," should be omitted in the draft.

Are you sure that you have given no other account of this conversation since you have been in England, materially differing from what you have now given?

I do not believe that I have.—If I have, I should be glad to be reminded of the circumstances.

Have you never said, that Mr. Hastings declared at that time, that he gave that contract to Mr. Stephen Sullivan in consideration of his gratitude to Mr. Laurence Sullivan, his father, or words to that effect?

I do not recollect that I have ever said so.

And then the witness was directed to withdraw.

MINUTES, &c.

Martis, 20^o die Martii 1787.

COMMITTEE of the Whole House on the Articles of Charge of High Crimes and Misdemeanors, presented to the House against Warren Hastings, Esquire, late Governor General of Bengal.

WILLIAM YOUNG, Esq. called in, and examined.

How long was you in any office of the collections of Bahar?

Upwards of six years.

At what time were the collections of Bahar placed under the management of a provincial council?

I believe in the latter end of 1769, or the beginning of 1770, to the best of my recollection.

Was it the plan of that Council, to collect and manage the whole revenue of the Zilla or Province?

It was.

Was there at any time a separation of particular districts from the Zilla?

There was a separation made at different times.

When, and to whom, were such districts committed as separate collectorships?

I can only speak positively as to the separations that were made whilst I was a member of the Provincial Council. — Previous to my being a member, some part of the district of Mongheer was separated, as also the district of Ramgur; — the former, I believe, to add to the collectorship of Mr. Barton, and the latter, I believe, as a collectorship to Captain Camac, who had conquered the country. And subsequent to my becoming a member of that Council, a small part of the southern district of Bahar was given to Captain Browne, who had charge of the Jungle derrèe districts; and in the beginning of the year 1779, the districts of Sircar Sarun, and Champaran, were separated from us, and given as a collectorship to Mr Green.

For what public use or purpose?

I re-

I really do not know ; I should suppose the reasons must appear on the consultations of the Governor General and Council, whose act it was.

Does any valid public reason occur to you ?

I do not know of any.

After these defalcations, did the Provincial Council at Patna remain in the management of the remainder ?

It did.

What was the original established number of that Council ?

I believe it was three ; but when the plan of Provincial Councils became general, the number was increased to five.

Was that number increased or diminished after the defalcations ?

We had occasionally a supernumerary member appointed—Mr. David Anderson and Mr. Rame were supernumerary members at different times.

For what public use or purpose was the number continued ?

For the conducting the collections, and the government of the country.

Was the expence of the whole establishment at Patna reduced, in consequence of the separation of the districts ?

It was not.

While your duties and labour were diminished by the above separation, do you mean to say that your expence and numbers, as a Council, were increased or continued ?

Our expence and numbers were occasionally increased, by the appointment of a supernumerary member.

Was you, as a Provincial Council, charged with neglect of, or being unequal to, your duties, as a reason for the separations ?

No such reason was ever alledged—nor any reason.

Was you, or any of you, dismissed for neglect or inability ?

Never, while I was a member.

At what time were the Provincial Councils abolished ?

Some time in February 1781.

For what public assigned reasons ?

When we were abolished, it was in consequence of a letter from the Governor General and Council, which assigned public reasons for the measure.—I have a copy of that letter by me now, which I can produce, if necessary.

Question repeated. —

I understood that the assigned reasons were, that it would increase the revenue, and diminish the expences.

For what real object, and with what effect ?

I presume a matter of opinion is expected from me on this occasion ?

You will give that opinion.

My real opinion is, that the Provincial Councils were abolished, for

for the sole purpose of adding to the power and influence of the Governor General at the time; and I believe it had that effect.

Why were the Chiefs continued?

For the purpose of receiving the collections from the Farmers, to whom the country had been given, and to pay the usual disbursements at that place.—They were also supposed to be a check on any impropriety of conduct of the Farmers.

Of what rank or quality, in the Company's service, were those servants to whom the whole management of the revenues were committed, under the name of Revenue Committee, in 1781?

Mr David Anderson, who was appointed President, was of the list of Civil Servants, who came out in 1767.—Mr. Shore, the second member, was of the list of 1769.—Mr. Chartres the same.—Mr. Croftes was of a later date, I do not recollect the year.

What experience or practice did these Gentlemen severally possess in the revenue department?

Mr. David Anderson had been employed in the revenue department for several years—had been originally an assistant under Mr. Middleton at Moorshedabad—then a member of that Council—some little time a supernumerary member of the Patna Council; from which he was made President of the Calcutta Zilla Committee.—Mr. Shore had been some time in the revenue line—likewise Mr. Chartres.—Mr. Croftes, I believe, had never been in the revenue line before.

What other occupations or offices had they, or any of them, at that time?

Mr. David Anderson was appointed Ambassador to Madajee Scindia; during which time he also held his office at the Committee of Revenue. Mr. Croftes was Accountant General to the Revenue Department, and Treasurer, to the best of my recollection, at the same time.

Had not Mr. Croftes a contract at the same time?

I believe he had a Bullock contract.

To whom was the management of the collections of Bahar committed, on the dissolution of the Council, and for what reasons?

Previous to the abolition of the Patna Council, the province of Bahar was given in farm to Rajah Cullian Sing and Rajah Kelle-ram; but the engagement stood in the name of Cullian Sing; the alleged reasons were, because they offered an increase of revenue beyond the settlement which the Patna Council had made.—We put them in possession some time in January 1781.

You are desired to inform the Committee who these persons were? Whether natives of Bahar? Whether Mussulmen or Hindoos? And in what circumstances they stood?

They were both natives of Delhi—Cullian Sing accompanied his father Shittabroy to Patna, where he resided; and Rajah Kelle-ram some years afterwards, I believe, being known to Shittabroy in
O his

his youth, and hearing that Rajah Shittabroy was preferred by the English to great dignity and honour, came to seek his fortunes under him, and was occasionally employed by him.—Rajah Cullian Sing had been appointed Dewan to the Patna Council, and Rajah Kelloram was at the same time appointed his Naib or Deputy. They were both, I believe, originally Hindoos, as their names denote; but latterly were looked upon, by people of their own sect, as excommunicated persons, having both what is called in India, lost their cast.—It was said at Patna, that Cullian Sing was actually a Mussulman, tho' he kept it private. I believe it will admit of no doubt, that he had been guilty of what the Hindoos consider as the greatest of all sins, of the crime of slaying and eating the cow; and both publickly lived and cohabited with Mahomedan women, by whom they had children, to whom they gave Mahomedan names. And as to their circumstances, it was notorious that they were larks of rupees in debt; in short, that poverty was so great, that their menial servants had not been paid for years.

Are persons who have so lost their cast, reputed among their countrymen to be persons observant of their honour and character?

It is looked upon as the greatest degradation of honour and character possible.—A Hindoo generally prefers death to the loss of cast.

Was the whole province given to them—or were any separate collectorships left?

Mr. Green remained in possession of his collectorship—they farmed that part of Bahar only, which was latterly under the superintendence of the Patna Council.

On what terms, and for what period, was the farm given them?

They engaged to pay annually rupees 34,08,000 and odd, without deduction; and on their being punctual in their payments, their lease was to be perpetual.

When the Provincial Council was abolished, why was a single collectorship left?

I cannot take upon myself to say why.

Had you, the Provincial Council, then made a settlement for the succeeding year?

We had.

What settlement?

Our settlement was rupees 32,17,000 and odd—to the best of my recollection; besides which there is a collection, which used to be received in Bahar, of $1\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. called Resum Casanna, which would have amounted to between 40 and 50,000 rupees upon the 32 lack; also a profit of Batta, or exchange, which would have been, as near as I can guess, about 50,000 rupees more—there was also a considerable sum of money advanced for agriculture from the Treasury, which would have been paid in the course of the year, but does not appear in our settlement; so that I believe, that if all these sums are added together, it will be found that our settle-

settlement was equal, or nearly equal, to that entered into with these men, whose farm did not include these articles, I mean that they were not exclusively bound to make them good—the whole sum they were bound to pay being only rupees 34,08,000; and I believe they never paid, nor were called upon to pay, any one of those three articles.

Had you made any collections for that year?

We had.

How much, and in what proportion, to the whole Jumma?

We had collected between nine and ten lack of rupees upon our settlement in four months; and the balance upon their instalments, when we delivered over the country to them, was about rupees 17,000, which was unusually small.

Would you have realized your own settlement?

It is impossible to say positively, but I think we should. I believe we assured the Governor General and Council so.

What was the balance of the Bahar year, ending September 1780?

I cannot speak positively, unless I refer to papers. It was very trifling, excepting only what was due from Rajah Kelleraam; there was about 75,000 rupees due from him.

How did the new farmers of Bahar execute their engagements?

Very badly.

In what sense?

That they did not pay up the revenue they stipulated to pay.

Was the power committed to them, in virtue of their having the management of the collections, beneficial to the people and country at large?

It was highly ruinous, and most cruelly oppressive.

Have you any proofs of that?

I have—I speak from actual knowledge, by being upon the spot—I was witness to the complaints and clamours of the people; many of whom, when I was out of office, applied to me to relieve their grievances, on an idea that I still had the power to do it. But these men, upon obtaining possession of the revenue of the country, acted in all things as if they had been appointed arbitrary despotic Sovereigns of it—not merely confining themselves to the business of the collections, but assuming the exercise of the administration of justice also.—I was asked for proofs: I have now a representation from the agent of the Phousdar, or criminal Magistrate at Bahar, against Rajah Kelleraam, complaining of these things to the Patna Council, a few days before the dissolution. I have a copy of it in Persian, and an English translation of it.

[Copy and translation produced, and brought up to the table.]

And the said translation was read, and is as follows:

‘ Patna Consultations, 8th Feb. 781.

‘ Arzee of the Vakeel of the Sudder Phousdar, against Rajah Kelleram.

‘ From the time of Sied Hussen Khan, to my master’s arrival here in Patna, no robbery has been committed, except in one place, which was lately ; and, thank God, both the thief and goods were taken, and brought to the Phousdarry ; the goods were restored to the owner, and his receipt for them is deposited in the Dufta. Also, during the time of my master’s residing here, whatever he represented to the Council, they always took notice of it, by which means his business went on very well, till, on the 1st of Suffer, or 27th January, when Rajah Kelleram sent for me, and told me he had spoke to the Phousdar about the person confined for the murder committed in Pergunnah Sundeh ; but that, as he had not released him, he would try what he could do to hurt him, and said, that he would not suffer his Amleh to do any thing in his Purgunnahs. He said he did not fear the Nabob himself, for that he had settled every thing very securely before he came up ; and told his servant, Esouf Beg, in my presence, not to pay any regard to the Amleh of my master, in any matter (except murder), but to beat and drive them away ; and then sent for his Moonshy, and told him to write to the Aumils of every place belonging to him, not to suffer any of the Phousdar’s Peons to seize any person, except for murder, but to beat and ill treat them, for that he himself would punish all crimes in his districts (murder excepted) ; and asked who the Phousdar was to interfere in any cases, except criminal ones.

‘ From the time this report has been spread about, a great many robberies have been committed, both in the city and out, in the Mofussil, and the thieves are not to be found ; nor is any regard paid to my master’s orders, or those of his Amleh ; and whenever any one is taken, either for robbery or murder, and carried to the Cutcherries, in the Mofussil, he is taken away again ; so that my master’s Naibs out in the Mofussil, not being permitted to execute the duties of their offices, have nothing to do, for no one will obey their orders.

‘ In the Sunnud granted to my master, by the Governor General and Council, it is particularly mentioned, that he or his Naibs are to represent any Zemindar, or other person, who refuses to obey his or their orders to the gentleman residing in that place, that he may punish the person so disobeying, and the same orders were sent to the Council ; therefore whatever you judge necessary to be done in this case, I request you will be pleased to do it.’

How

How were accounts settled between them ?

We adjusted our accounts with the old farmers on the part of Government, and left these men and Mr. Maxwell, who remained chief, to settle the Mofussil accounts.

How did they exact their Mofussil settlement from the people, and with what general effects ?

They made the settlement in the country with the Zemindars, Talookdars, and Ryots, in an arbitrary manner, by compelling many of them to give a large increase upon the engagements they had previously entered into with the Patna Council. Restraint and confinement were used to effect it, even with the first Zemindars of the country, and it was exacted with the utmost rigour.

Had not Mr. Maxwell authority to prevent such acts; and if so, why did he not exert it to that end ?

The farmers themselves did not seem to think that Mr. Maxwell did possess such authority; and certain it is, that he did not exercise it. — When I speak of the farmers, I mean to refer to Rajah Kellaram and Rajah Cullian Sing.

Did they realize their settlement with Government ?

They did not.

What was the balance or deficiency of the first year ?

The balance on the immediate conclusion of the year I had an account of, and it was something more than seven lack of rupees; but when the accounts came to be finally settled, which was in the course of the second year, they had applied part of the revenue of the second to reduce the balance of the first year; and I think that it then amounted to about four lack of rupees.

If so, was that a real reduction of the balance of seven lacks ?

Certainly a real reduction of the balance of the first year, though an addition to the deficiency of the second, if there was any.

Were the Council at large, or any number of it, consulted about the character, competency, or capacity of these persons for such a trust ?

The Council was never consulted. — None of us were called upon to give our opinions upon it; but I informed Mr. Hastings in Calcutta, when I understood that it was intended to give the country to these men, that it never would be realized — and in the month of January or February I recorded this opinion upon the proceedings of our Council.

Was it usual, before that period, for the Governor General and Council to consult the Barhar Council previous to granting leases of farms, &c. ?

They consulted us upon all points relating to the revenue of our division.

Was not the Council of Bahar held responsible for their settlement ?

The Governor General and Council often wrote to us, that they should consider us as responsible for the revenue.

What

What were the particular qualifications of these new managers for such a trust?

They were the most unfit men that such a trust could have been given to.

Did they collect from the country the amount of their engagement to Government, or more?

They made a settlement with the country of thirty-six lacks and upwards—They could not collect the whole of it; but I am certain, from the information I obtained at Patna, that they must have realized more than the amount of their engagements to Government.

How much more?

I cannot speak positively to the sum—they made various other collections and exactions, exclusive of the settlement they had made in the country, from the proprietors of independent Clans which paid no rent to Government.

By what means did they exact what they collected?

By restraint and confinement, and I believe, in some instances, by corporal punishment.

Did they, or did they not, violate the rights of the possessors of alienated lands, or of Zemindars, or of Ryots?

By the complaints preferred to me by those persons, it would appear they did.

Did they assume the administration of justice in the Mofussil or country?

I have already stated that they did.

Could this state of the country, and of the administration, be unknown to Mr. Hastings?

It might originally, but Mr. Hastings had an opportunity, in January 1782, when he was at Patna, of seeing, and being informed of it, which I believe he was.

What measures did government take to oblige them to pay their balance?

Rajah Kellaram was confined for the balance that appeared against him, and Rajah Cullian Sing's Jagheer was attached by Government to make good his proportion of the balance.

Was it paid?

When I came away from Patna, the latter end of 1785, part of it was paid, and Rajah Kellaram was out of confinement.

Do you suppose that these persons could have expected any indulgence from Government, in not exacting the balance due, when it was notorious, or might have been easily ascertained, that they had really collected more than the amount of their settlement from the country, and on what ground?

After having obtained the farm of the country, they might have expected any thing—the same patronage that had given them the country; they might think would have liberated them from their balance and confinement.

What

What then was the cause or foundation of that supposed patronage?

The support and friendship of the Governor General, and Gungergovind Sing, through whom the farm had been obtained.

By what means obtained?

We had various reports on the subject.

What were those reports?

And the question being objected to ;

The witness was directed to withdraw.

And being again called in ;

He was asked,

What was the general prevailing opinion at Patna, among the natives, on this subject?

The opinion of the natives, whether well or ill-founded, was, that they purchased the office.

Was that your opinion, and that of the Europeans in general at Patna?

I beg to decline answering that question.

Do you answer positively for the real existence of such a general opinion among the natives?

The opinion was certainly very general.

Did any facts, giving rise to such report and opinion, come out to the public?

The report originated, I believe, with the parties themselves, the farmers ; but as to facts, that is, the actual receipt or payment of the money, I am not personally acquainted with any.

Is it your opinion, that although Rajah Kellaram was confined, and kept so long a time for his balance to Government, there might nevertheless have been, in the first instance, a fraudulent understanding between him and people in power at Calcutta?

I think it very possible.

On what principles?

On this principle—That having been powerfully patronized at Calcutta, it is possible that Rajah Kellaram might have been given to understand, that it was a necessary measure to save appearances, and that he might soon be released, upon easier terms than paying his balance.

Do you believe that to have been the case?

I think it very probable.

Do you know, or did you ever hear, from what you deem credible authority, that any sum, or engagement for a sum of money, was given by these persons to Mr. Hastings?

I beg the indulgence of the Committee, to be excused answering that question.

Why do you ask for that indulgence?

I wish that the Committee would be pleased to indulge me in that respect, without giving my reasons.

And then the witness was directed to withdraw.

And

And being again called in ;

He was asked,

Do you know that any sum, or engagement for a sum of money, was given by those persons to Mr. Hastings ?

I cannot take upon myself to say absolutely that I know it.

Have you heard it, and from what authority ?

I certainly heard so.

From what authority ?

I deemed the authority good.

What authority ?

Am I obliged to answer that question ?

You are obliged to answer it.

I think that I heard it from the parties themselves : and I know that Mujadis Roy, the Vakeel or agent of Rajah Cullian Sing, told me so some time in the months of June or July 1781, in Calcutta.

Did you receive the same information from any body else ?

I did not receive the information from any body else that I recollect now, that money was paid—I heard only that money was to be paid.

Was it in money, or by the engagement, called a Teep, and in whose name ?

I heard it was by a written engagement, or Teep, and in the name of Rajah Cullian Sing.

What was the sum ?

I heard 4 lacks of rupees.

Did you ever hear what disposition was made of that Teep, or if it was ever paid, and to whom ?

The money I understood was paid to Guntergovind Sing, on Mr. Hastings's account.

To whose hands was the Teep given, by the person that gave it ?

It is impossible for me to say to whose hands, unless I had seen it delivered.

What did you hear from the Vakeel was done with it ?

I do not recollect that particularly.—I heard also from Mr. Wheler the sum of four lacks was to be paid.—Mr. Wheler mentioned it to me one morning in the course of conversation, when I was remonstrating with him on the hardship and injustice of sacrificing a public body, such as our Council was, to two such men.

To whom did Mr. Wheler say it was to be paid ?

He did not express to me to whom.

Did you understand for what purpose it was to be paid ?

I understood it was for giving those men the farm of the country.

Do you mean that the four lacks was to be given to the East India Company, or to any of their servants ?

I certainly did not understand it at the time as a donation to the East India Company, I understood it certainly to their servants—it is merely matter of opinion.

To

To which of their servants?

I understood to Mr. Hastings; that was the opinion I formed at the time in my own mind.

Did you not, at that time, consider that the four lacks to be paid in by this teep might be the remaining part of the balance due from them on account of their settlement?

Certainly not—The circumstance I have mentioned happened some time in December 1780, or January 1781, previous to their having taken charge of the country, or executed their public engagements.

When you state the sum given to Mr. Hastings as given with the privity of Mr. Wheler, do you mean to say that the money was accepted with the consent and concurrence of Mr Wheler?

I do not understand that I have yet said that any money was actually given.

Do you mean to say you understood from Mr. Wheler, that the teep was to be accepted with Mr. Wheler's consent and concurrence?

Mr. Wheler never mentioned a teep to me.

When you said, that you heard from Mr. Wheler that the sum of four lacks were to be paid, did you understand from Mr. Wheler that those four lacks were to be paid with his consent?

I certainly did not understand so at the time: I looked upon it to be private information of the transaction, which Mr. Wheler might have obtained as I had done.

Do you understand, now, that Mr Wheler received any part of that money?

I never had an idea that he did. I know Mr. Wheler's private sentiments to be against abolishing the Provincial Councils, and giving the farm of Patna to these men.

In which of the names was the settlement made?

Rajah Cullian Sing.

Which of them was imprisoned for the balance?

Rajah Kellaram.

What was the reason for confining this man; and why were not both confined?

Rajah Cullian Sing had visible property—he had a Jaghire of 80,000 rupees a year, but he was nevertheless much in debt; Rajah Kellaram had no visible property, I believe, but a house, which was seized and sold. I was at the auction of that and other effects.

As Kellaram was imprisoned, what do you believe or know to be the reason that he did not defend himself, by accusing or threatening to accuse Mr. Hastings?

I beg to decline answering that question.

Why?

I have my reasons for it, which I wish not to give.

As Kellaram was imprisoned, what do you know to be the reason

son that he did not defend himself, by accusing, or threatening to accuse Mr. Hastings?

I beg the indulgence of the Committee, to decline answering that question—I have very great objections to answering it.

And then the witness was directed to withdraw.

And being again called in,

He was directed to state those objections; and to inform the Committee, whether he conceived his answer to that question would tend in any manner to criminate himself?

The question cannot criminate me in any manner.

Then you must answer it.

While Kelloram was in confinement, his agents frequently came to me, and thought that I might be instrumental to his enlargement; and, in the course of the conversation that passed, they gave as a reason to me why they durst not do such a thing as criminate those that gave him the farm, that it was dangerous to Rajah Kelloram, it might be fatal to him;—they said, Has not Rajah Nuncomar been hanged? this may be the fate of Rajah Kelloram; or words to that effect, to the best of my recollection. The persons that came to me, I recollect one of them was Mooteran, the Va-keel of Rajah Kelloram: another man used to come to me, whose name I do not recollect: Rajah Kelloram's son, Ball Govin, used to come to me—it was with one of these men that this conversation happened.

Then was it a thing admitted, or taken for granted, in the conversations you allude to, that Kelloram had such a weapon of defence against Mr. Hastings, but was afraid to make use of it?

I certainly understood it so.

Was the change in the revenue system made in 1781, attended with any and what diminution in the general charges of collections, and all establishments, or any of the revenue?

As the allowances to the members of the Council were continued, till they were otherwise provided for, I do not think there could have been any immediate diminution of expence.

Was the change distressful to the members of the Provincial Councils, their assistants, and servants, in any, and what degree?

It was certainly highly distressful to our feelings as men, to be turned out of office, and ordered down to the Presidency—we had considered our situations as fixed. The measure of Provincial Councils had been adopted by the former Government; it had been received by the Supreme Council, approved by the Court of Directors, and, by having been made known to the legislature, had virtually received legal sanction;—the dismissal was what we little expected from the hand of one man, who was, virtually, the Government of Bengal, after our appointments had received the sanction of such high authority.

The question is, What was the distress it occasioned to the members of the Council, their assistants, and servants?

I will

I will state that:—Some of us had houses and land, our assistants had some of them also houses.—Having considered ourselves in a fixed situation, we had our occupations, our pursuits, and amusements—We had it in our power to afford assistance to some needy friends, who depended upon us—Our own misfortunes were much aggravated by finding our friends involved in the same calamity as ourselves.—Allow me to say, that we had endeavoured to govern the people who were placed under our charge with moderation and humanity—we felt not a little for their situation also, who were so sensible of the consequences to themselves, of being delivered up to the arbitrary will of such men, whose character they were perfectly acquainted with, that the terror they conceived upon the occasion is only to be compared to an apprehended invasion of a ravaging army of Marattas; and as to our own feelings, they can only be compared to an expulsion from house and home—for it was in reality to some of us an actual banishment, and to myself equal to dismissal from the Company's service—for, being of a rank in the service superior to the President of the new Committee, and my mind employed in the business of the revenue, I could not hold any office in the revenue in future without submitting to the painful degradation of obeying the orders of my juniors; a thing held as disgraceful in the service of the East India Company, as it would be thought in his Majesty's service for the Colonel of a regiment to be put under the command of one of his Subalterns.

Do you know Gungergovind Sing?

I do.

What was his office and power during Mr. Hastings's administration?

During the latter part of his administration Gungergovind Sing was considered by the natives as the second personage in the Government, though his office was that of Duan to the Committee of Revenue.

What was the general opinion of the natives of the use he made of his power?

I always heard him spoken very ill of by the natives; as a man universally hated by them for his peculations and oppressions, to which he made his powers subservient.

What was the opinion of Europeans?

The same.

Do you know, or have you heard from authority that you deem good, any facts in support of these opinions?

I do not know any thing myself particularly, but that a man they called Ram Chunder Sain, who was as likely to know his transactions as any man in Bengal, assured me, in 1781, that even then Gungergovind Sing had accumulated above a Crore of Rupees, and he declared to me he had an account of the particulars.

Do you give credit to what that man told you?

I believed it.

From your knowledge of Gungergovind Sing's situation and power, do you think it likely that he had or might have nearly accumulated such a sum?

I think it probable.

Was the giving Bahar in farm to Cullian Sing and Kelleraam, in your opinion, productive only of a temporary or of a lasting prejudice to the revenue?

Of a lasting prejudice, because they desolated the country, ruined agriculture, distressed the people, and caused many of them to fly.

What do you estimate the loss at to the Company on the revenues of Bahar, to the time of your leaving Bengal?

I imagine it could not be less than twenty-five lack of rupees.

Could you, if called upon, make out that by accounts?

I could render it probable, I think evident.

What office did Rajah Kelleraam hold under the Patna Council?

He had been Naib Duan, and we appointed him to the charge of the collections of Sircar Rotas in 1779 and 1780.

Did he collect the amount of his settlement for Rotas?

I believe he collected more than the settlement he sent to Patna.

Did he pay it up to Government?

He did not.

What was the balance?

Of about 75,000 rupees, to the best of my recollection.

What means were taken to make him pay that balance?

We put him under Mohussles, or in the custody of an officer.

When, and by whom, was he released from that restraint?

By the Patna Council some time in September 1780; but I cannot be particular as to dates.

For what reason was he released, if he had not paid his balance?

I was at that time acting chief at Patna, and released him by a vote of my Council, in which I was left in a minority. He had received a Perwanna from Mr. Hastings to come to Calcutta,—I received also a letter from Mr. Hastings directing me to permit him to come down.

Did you report the facts to the Governor General and Council, or to Mr. Hastings particularly?

I wrote an answer to Mr. Hastings, stating his situation, to which I wished to have waited his reply, but my Council overruled me.

Was the balance due by Kelleraam ever paid?

Never, that I heard of.

At what time did he go from Patna to Calcutta?

I cannot be precise as to dates, but he went away the day after his enlargement, which was some time in the rainy season in 1780.

Did you ever hear, and from whom, what was the amount of his embezzlement during his collectorship of Rotas?

He boasted publicly it was 60,000 rupees.

Did you record your opinion of the settlement made with these persons?

I did.

I did.

Was it to the same effect with the evidence you have now given ?
Precisely.

Have you known during the time of your continuance in the Company's service any farms, except this, let to any farmer of revenue for a perpetuity, on condition of the payment of their rents, agreed on ?

I know some instances.

Were they to Zemindars or Farmers ?

Both.

Can you name them ?

The district of Sonnour, and part of Shawabad, in Bahar, had been given to one Noor ul Huffin Cawn, upon a lease, which after a certain period was to be perpetual.

At what time, and for what cause, was this settlement made ?

The settlement took place with him before I came to the Patna Council ; and it failed whilst I was a member.

Was it renewed ?

It was not.

Was the farm continued to Kellaram and Cullian Sing, after the failure of their engagements ?

A very little time afterwards it was found they could not go on another year ; so they were dismissed in the middle of the second year.

As you have stated, that the course of justice was disturbed and usurped by these two farmers, whether Sir Elijah Impey did not visit Patna during the continuance of this farm ?

He did.

How long did he stay at Patna ?

He was there some time ; then went down to Boglepoor, and came back again to Patna ; and hearing that all was peace and quietness at Benares, he hurried up there with all possible expedition.

Did he take any steps towards the furtherance of the administration of justice, and correcting grievances, whilst he staid at Patna ?

Though the professed object of his journey was to hear appeals, yet he took no steps whatever, that I ever heard of, to perform that duty.

And then the witness was directed to withdraw.

To report a progress, &c.

MINUTES, &c.

Veneris, 23^o die Martii, 1787.

COMMITTEE of the Whole House on the Articles of Charge of High Crimes and Misdemeanors presented to the House against Warren Hastings, Esquire, late Governor General of Bengal.

WILLIAM HARWOOD, Esquire, called in, and examined.
How long was you Chief of the Provincial Council of Dinagepore?

From the beginning of the year 1775 to the beginning of the year 1780.

At what time were any particular districts separated from your division, in order to form separate collectorships?

About the month of August 1777, the province of Rungpoore; and early in the beginning of the next year the Purgunnas of Silberris were separated from our division.

For what public use or purpose were these separations made?

For none that I know of.

After these separations, how much of the original division of Dinagepore was left under the management of the Provincial Council?

If we except the Zemindary of Dinagepore, which was also in effect separated from our division, we retained about a quarter of our original division.

Was the established number of the Council still kept compleat, diminished, or increased?

They were continued compleat.

Was the expence of the whole establishment reduced, in consequence of the separation of the districts?

No.

Was you, as a Provincial Council, charged with neglect of, or being unequal to, your duties, as a reason for the separations?

I do

I do not remember that we were ever charged with neglect or inability.

Do you collect the amount of the settlement of the districts originally, or at any time in your charge compleat, or was there any balance?

In some years we did collect the whole compleat; in others, very inconsiderable balances were left.

Do you know whether the settlement of the districts separated from your Council were fully collected, or if any balances were left?

Very considerable balances were left.

What was the greatest amount of your own balance at any time?

I do not remember the exact sum, but it was very trifling.

Are you of opinion, that the inability of the Provincial Councils, from the decline of the revenues, was a sufficient reason for dissolving them?

I do not apprehend there was any inability on the part of the Provincial Councils, therefore I cannot suppose it could be urged as a reason for their abolition.

Were there any factions in your Council?

I may say none at all, for during the five years that I was Chief of that Council I recollect only one dissent.

Where is the Zemindary of Baharbund?

It joins the province of Rungpore, and is to the Eastward of it.

Do you know upon what terms the Zemindary of that Purgunah was granted to Mr. Hastings's Banyan, in the name of his son?

No, I do not.

Do you recollect the opinion of a gentleman, member of the Select Committee, in the year 1776, with respect to the present Provincial Councils, in these words: "I am of opinion that the institution was fundamentally wrong?"

I have not the least recollection of it.

And then the witness was directed to withdraw.

EWAN LAW, Esquire, called in and examined.

Was you in Council at Patna when a separate Collectorship was formed for Mr. James Barton, partly out of your district?

I really do not recollect—I was a member of the Patna Council at that time; but it will appear from the Company's records.

Was you Chief at Patna when a separate Collectorship was formed out of your district for Mr. Charles Græme—and when the district of Tirhut was made over to the Zemindar?

I was.

For what public use or purpose were these separations made?

I really cannot tell.

Are you of opinion, that they were intended for public use, or otherwise?

I am

I am to suppose they were so intended: Whether they answered that purpose or not, I did not stay long enough to judge of by its effects.

Did you at the time consider these measures as matters of personal favour, and personal favour only?

I certainly considered the appointment of Mr. Græme to the Collectorship of Sircar Saran as a matter of private favour.

What did you at the time think of Tirhut?

I considered it as a particular indulgence to the Zemindar.

Did you ever record your opinion, that it was owing to the intrigues of that Zemindar that the failure of the preceding renter ought to be attributed?

I must refer, for an answer to this question, to the Patna consultations at the time.

Then an Extract of a Letter from the Witnesses to Mr. Francis, dated 15th February 1772, being read to the Witnesses, as follows:

‘ I cannot but observe, that at the same time that we are so severely reprehended for the decrease of Jumma, Tirhut with its dependencies is in a manner taken out of our hands, and the settlement made, with very large and particular allowances, to the Zemindar; to whose intrigues I have recorded my opinion that the failure of the late renter may be in a good measure attributed.’

The question was repeated.

I have no doubt, from what has been just now read to me, that such was my opinion, and that it stands so recorded; but having lost, in the General Barker Indiaman, all my books and papers, I cannot, at the distance of eight or nine years, particularly recollect every transaction that happened during my Chiefship, or the opinion that I then gave.

Was it not your opinion at the time, that Mr. Charles Græme, having been brought up in the commercial line, could have no local knowledge of the districts he was appointed to, or experience in the revenue branch in general?

It was.

After these defalcations of particular districts, did the Provincial Council of Patna continue in the management of the remainder?

To the best of my recollection, they did.

What was the original established number of that Council, from 1773?

I believe it originally consisted of three members; afterwards it was increased to four, and to five.

Was that number of five increased or diminished after the separation of the districts?

I rather think there was an additional member.

For

For what public use or purpose was there an additional member appointed?

I really cannot tell.

Was the expence of the whole establishment of the Provincial Council at Patna reduced, in consequence of the separation of the districts?

I do not remember any.

While your duties and labours were diminished by the above separations, do you mean to say that your expence and number, as a Council, were increased, or diminished?

The addition of a member to the Council must have been attended with an increase of the expence. I remember no other increase.

Was you, as a Provincial Council, charged with neglect of, or being unequal to, your duties, as a reason for the separations?

We were not.

Was you, or any of you, dismissed for neglect or inability?

No.

Is it your opinion, that the inability of the Provincial Councils, from the decline of the revenues, was a sufficient reason for abolishing those Councils?

I cannot speak to the abolition of the Provincial Councils, because it is a measure that took place after my departure from the country.

Your opinion is desired on the general ability of those Councils to perform their duties?

I suppose, in general, they were able to perform their duty.

Are you of opinion that the management of the revenues may be better conducted by Provincial Councils, or by Collectors?

Supposing the Collector to have a knowledge of the language, and all other necessary qualifications, I suppose the business would be performed with more ease and dispatch by a Collector.

And then the witness was directed to withdraw.

ALEXANDER HIGGINSON, Esquire, called in,
and examined.

How long was you in Council at Burdwan?

Between four and five years.

Did the Supreme Board, while it consisted of Mr. Hastings, General Clavering, Colonel Monson, Mr. Barwell, and Mr. Francis, form a settlement directly with the Rajah, as Zemindar, for two years, commencing in April 1776?

I was Chief of the Council at that time, and the settlement was then formed.

Was that settlement collected?

To the best of my recollection, the first year was completely
Q realized.

realized. There might have been some balance the second year; but as I am entirely unprovided with materials, having by accident lost my papers, I cannot speak as to the particular sum; but whatever sum it was, it either was, or might have been, easily realized from the Zemindar.

Was it collected without oppression to the country?

My opinion in general is, that it was, as far as an arbitrary country will admit.

Was it a favourable settlement for Government?

I believe it was formed upon a medium of three or five years receipts, and the country, as well as the Zemindar, was fully able to pay it.

At what time was the separate Collectorship of Midnapore formed out of the Burdwan Zilla for Mr. Pearce?

I do not recollect the particular time; but it was about six months before I left the Chiefship.

For what public use or purpose was that separation made?

I do not know.

Does it occur to you, that any public purpose of utility was to be answered by it?

The only purpose which occurs to me was, that as Mr. Pearce and Mr. Charters made a settlement some months before, Mr. Pearce was ordered by the Governor General and Council to reside on the spot, to manage the collection.

Was the appointment indispensably necessary to that purpose, or might the business have been done by the Council?

My opinion is, that it might have been equally well done by the Council.

Was the expence of the general establishment of the Council at Burdwan diminished or increased in consequence of that separation?

To the best of my knowledge it continued the same, because the vacant seat in Burdwan was not filled during the time I staid there; but it afterwards was.

Are you of opinion, that the inability of the Provincial Councils, from the decline of the revenues, was a sufficient reason for dissolving them?

No.

Who is Gunga Govin Sing?

I knew him in several capacities; first, as Naib Canongo at Moorshedabad; afterwards he was Duan of the Calcutta Committee; afterwards he was Naib of the Kalsah to the Roy Royan; and then he was at the head of the Aumeen Duffer, established under Messrs. Anderson and Bogle; after that he was Duan of the Calcutta General Committee.

What was his office and power during Mr. Hastings's administration, from the end of 1780?

I was not in the revenue branch at that time; I was preparing to leave India then.

What

What was the general opinion of the natives of the use he made of his power?

A very bad one.

In what respect?

His influence at the Kalsah gave him opportunities of being very partial, and very frequently oppressive.

What was the opinion of Europeans?

My own opinion, and the opinion of those with whom I conversed, was as I have before related.

What was the general opinion, and your own, of his wealth?

He was generally thought to be very rich; the particular sum I cannot ascertain.

Is not Midnapore a frontier province, and part of it woody and mountainous, inhabited by a wild disorderly race of people?

Great part of it is.

What is the distance from Burdwan to the frontiers of the Midnapore Province?

I suppose above a hundred miles.

And then the witness was directed to withdraw.

PETER MOORE, Esquire, called in, and examined.

Was you in the revenue department in Bengal?

I was.

In what Councils?

First in the Provincial Council of Calcutta, next in that of Moorshedabad.

Are you acquainted with the situation of the Zemindary of Baharbund?

It lies to the eastward of Dinagepore and Rungpore. I was stationed in that neighbourhood.

To whom did it originally belong?

I believe to the Zemindary of Radshi, belonging to Ranny Bowanny.

For what reason was it taken from the Ranny of Radshi, and given to Cantoo Baboo?

I do not exactly recollect: I believe on some plea of incapacity or insufficiency in her to manage it, or some pretended decline in the revenue, owing to mismanagement.

On what terms was it granted to Cantoo Baboo, or to his son?

I believe it was a grant in perpetuity, at the revenue of rupees 82 or 83,000 per annum.

What amount did he collect from the country?

I cannot tell. The year I was in that neighbourhood the settlement with his under tenants was something above rupees 3,53,000. The inhabitants of the country objected to it; they assembled in a body of about five thousand, and were proceeding to Calcutta to

make known their grievances to the Committee of Revenue; they were stopped at Cossimbuzar by Noor Sing Baboo, the brother of Cantoo Baboo, and there the matter was compromised; in what manner I cannot say.

Who is Nundoo du Loll Roy?

He was the farmer of Radshi, under the division of Moorshedabad, when I was a member of that Council. He was a dismissed servant of the Raniny of Radshi.

Did he pay his revenue?

He did not.

What balance did he leave?

The witness desires to refresh his memory from his own memorandums made at Moorshedabad, and at Calcutta.

The first was incurred in 1777-8, Bengal year, ending April 1778, amounting to rupees 7,57,928. Second balance, Bengal year ending April 1782, being the first year of the establishing the Committee of Revenue, he then had the farm given to him again, and incurred a further balance of rupees 4,57,583, making rupees 12,15,511.

Was he when you came away still indebted to Government to that amount?

I believe about 2,000 rupees had been paid in discharge of the last balance of rupees 4,57,583. I do not know that any thing further has been paid.

Do you know who Kelloram is?

He is renter of the Bahar Province, either in part or the whole.

Do you know any thing of a Teep given, or engagement entered into, by Kelloram and Cullian Sing, or either of them, for a sum of money to be paid by them to Mr. Hastings, or for his use?

No, I do not.

Have you no information whatsoever on that subject?

I have some information on the subject, but I hope the Committee will indulge me in not producing it.

Why do you ask that indulgence?

It may bring a discredit upon others, which I should be unwilling to do.

And then the witness was directed to withdraw.

And being again called in,

He was asked,

Does it tend to criminate yourself?

No — The person from whom I had the information is dead.

What is the information you possess on the subject?

When the Provincial Councils were abolished I was at Moorshedabad; I returned to Calcutta the latter end of October, or the beginning of November 1781. Mr. Wheeler was my particular friend. Immediately on my arrival I went to him; the subject of our conversation turned on the
extra-

extraordinary revenue system that had taken place. He said he had done all he could to prevent it—That the plan had been three times shewn to him, and three times had it been altered, on objections made by him—That he ultimately did not concur, but did not oppose, because it was to no purpose—That a sum of money had been offered to him since its institution. That the sum received from Kellaram had been four lacks of rupees, one half of which, or the whole, I do not recollect exactly which, had been offered to him, (to use the words of Mr. Wheler,) “as the only money which had been in his disposal since he came to the chair”—No name was mentioned.

Who did you understand to be meant by *his* and *he*?

The person who had come to the chair of Bengal, the Governor General.—Mr. Wheler did not mention this to me in confidence; so far to the contrary, he mentioned it in terms from which he meant to derive merit from his resistance to such a temptation.

Do you mean that the words *his* and *he* mean to refer to a different person, in the end of your answer, to what they did in the beginning?

I have delivered them as the words used by Mr. Wheler.—It was a mode of expression adopted by him to avoid mentioning the name of the Governor General, to which *he* and *his* only can apply.

The first (*him*) of money offered to him, then means that it was offered to Mr. Wheler?

Yes.

Whether Mr. Wheler, previous to the words you have quoted as his (Mr. Wheler's) had named or alluded to Mr. Hastings, so as to make it clear that the words *he* and *his* must allude to Mr. Hastings?

We had before been talking of Mr. Hastings's measures, and of the measures of the Government General.

Did you or did you not understand from Mr. Wheler that Mr. Hastings did receive four lacks of rupees for abolishing the Provincial Councils?

No, certainly not—the money was received from Kellaram, who had only one farm under the new institution.

What was the sum received from Kellaram?

The sum I have heard, was four lacks.

Was the money so given in consideration of Mr. Hastings giving them, (Kellaram and Cullian Sing,) the farm of the province of Bahar in perpetuity?

I cannot speak to it as a fact—I believe, it must have been so.

What reply did Mr. Wheler tell you he made to the proposal?

He did not tell me—he gave me sufficiently to understand that he had declined it, but he went on with the conversation between him and the person making the tender, that very sufficiently indicated his refusal. The words were, using the third person's words as before, “Then,” says he, “it shall go to the Maratta fund.”

Do you know who is Nobkissen?

Lord

Lord Clive's Moonshee.

Do you know any thing of his being appointed Sezawal of the district of Burdwan ?

He was appointed Sezawal of Burdwan in 1780, the year preceding the appointment of the Committee of Revenue, and held it two years.

At what rate did he settle with Government for the Revenue of Burdwan ?

The first year he held it at about thirty-eight lacks—the second year the Committee levied an increase, I think, of five lacks.

Did he pay it ?

The first year he paid wholly—the second year he left a balance of rupees 1,83,500.

What general use did he make of his power in Burdwan ?

His conduct was said to be very irregular, and his exactions very great, and it clearly appears so, from his payments being to so much greater amount the second year than they were the first.

Do you know, or have you any valid reasons to believe, that Mr. Macpherson did at any time declare, that as soon as it might be in his power, he would compel Gunga Govin Sing to refund, or to that effect ?

I have received information on that subject, but I desire to be excused answering that question.

Why do you wish to be excused ?

The person from whom I received the information is a particular friend of mine, and I believe would not wish to have it mentioned.

Does it tend to criminate that person ?

No.

And the question being objected to ;

The witness was directed to withdraw.

And being again called in ;

He was asked,

After the dissolution of the Councils in 1781, were there any separate Collectorships continued or created for English gentlemen ?

A great many.

What were they, and to whom were they given ?

Mr. Touchet—the twenty-four Pergunnas.

Mr. Dallas—Radshi.

Mr. Vansittart—Nuddea.

The rest are included in the Revenue Plan delivered in by Mr. Stuart.

Were these separations consistent or inconsistent with the general plan established by Mr. Hastings in 1781 ?

Directly opposite to his professions.

From what motive are the native renters, at a distance from Calcutta, desirous to pay their rents at Calcutta ?

That

That they may be left uncontrouled in their exactions, oppressions, and extortions.

Were the great Zemindaries of Burdwan, Radshi, Dinagepoor, and Nuddea, left under the management of the respective Zemindars, in conformity to the plan of 1781?

Burdwan was not—Radshi was not—Dinagepoor was given to Rajah Deval Sing, whose exactions were such as to cause an insurrection of the whole country, and the Company's troops were turned out to quell it.—Nuddea was given nominally in charge to the Rajah; but Mr. Macdowal, a servant of the Company, was stationed over him, to keep him punctual in his payments.

Who is Gunga Govin Sing?

He was, when I left Bengal, Duan to the Committee of Revenue.

What was his office and power during Mr. Hastings's administration, since 1780?

He was formerly Duan to the Provincial Council stationed at Calcutta, of which I was a member; his conduct then was licentious and unwarrantable, oppressive and extortionary: he was stationed under us to be an humble and submissive servant, and to be of use to us in the discharge of our duty; his conduct was every thing the reverse—we endeavoured to correct the mischiefs he was guilty of as much as possible. In one attempt to release fifteen persons illegally confined by him, we were dismissed our offices; a different pretence for our dismissal was held out, but it was only a pretence. Since his appointment as Duan to the present Committee of Revenue, his line of conduct has only been a continuance of what I have described, but upon a larger scale.

What was the general opinion of the natives of the use he made of his power?

He was looked up to by the natives as the second person in the Government, if not the first; he was considered as the only channel for obtaining favour or employment from the Governor. There is hardly a native family of rank or credit within the three provinces, whom he has not some time or other distressed and afflicted; scarce a Zemindary that he has not dismembered and plundered.

Was you in a situation to know this to be true?

I certainly was.

What was the general opinion, and your own, concerning his wealth?

It is almost impossible to form a competent judgment, his means of acquiring it have been so extensive. I had an account shewn to me about July 1785, stating his acquisitions at three hundred and twenty lacks of rupees.

Do you believe it possible he could have acquired that sum, or any thing like it?

I do really believe he has acquired the greatest part of it;—he certainly had the means so to do.

What.

What were the professed objects and effect of the appointment of the Committee of Revenue in 1781, with respect to the collection of the revenues, and government of the country?

The professed objects were, retrenchments of expence and improvement of revenue; the effects were, increase of expence, and decrease of revenue. I wish to exemplify this answer—the increase of revenue proposed to be made, and promised to the public the four first years, amounted to rupees 85,10,152; the balances uncollected on the 13th of July 1785, which allowed fifteen months to the last year, amounted to no less a sum than rupees 1,26,23,624, exceeding the proposed increase by rupees 41,13,472; to which is to be added rupees 24,83,675, increase of expence during those four years, exceeding the establishment of the Provincial Councils.

And then the witness was directed to withdraw.

To report a progress, &c.

MINUTES, &c.

Veneris, 30^o die Martii 1787.

COMMITTEE of the Whole House on the Articles of Charge of High Crimes and Misdemeanors, presented to the House against Warren Hastings, Esquire, late Governor General of Bengal.

WILLIAM MARKHAM, Esquire, called in and examined.

Was you private Secretary to Mr. Hastings in 1780?

I was.

Do you recollect Mr. Hastings having mentioned to you, in June 1780, that he had received a present of two lacks of rupees from Cheyt Sing, through his Buxey Suddanund?

I recollect going with Mr. Hastings in his carriage to Sir John Day's; he meant to certify from Sir John Day the terms of a coalition which had been reciprocally entered into between him and Mr. Francis. On the return he told me, that Sir John Day was a cautious man, and did not chuse to decide between them. Some minutes of Council at this time had passed, and objections had been made by Mr. Francis and Mr. Wheler to an expedition proposed by the Governor General into the country of Malva, on account of the expence that the Company would be put to by the difference of the troops being in cantonments or upon actual service out of the provinces. That lately Suddanund, Rajah Cheyt Sing's Buxey, had been with him, and had offered him a present of two lacks of rupees. That he had originally rejected the offer, but that, thinking to do away these objections of Mr. Francis and Mr. Wheler, by offering a sum equal to the contingent expences, he had accepted it, and that it was paid, or to be paid, into the hands of Mr. Croftes, the sub-treasurer. That he was now under a difficulty, as in the event of the expedition not being agreed to by the Board, he did not know what to do with this sum of money, as he could not think of taking it himself. Some days ago I saw Mr. Hastings, and wishing to be correct in my evidence before this Committee, I requested to see the copy of a letter in my own hand-writing, in

R

his

his letter book, from Mr. Hastings to Mr. Lawrence Sullivan, at the time that I was his private secretary ; I made extracts of the parts which related to the business for which I imagined I was called before this Committee as a witness.

The witness then referred to the Committee, whether he should produce that paper, being the copy of that extract, and read it as part of his evidence.

And then the witness was asked ;

In what office was Mr. Sullivan at that time ?

I believe he was Deputy Chairman of the Court of Directors.

Does the letter relate to public business ?

In some parts it does—some private.

Was it addressed to him as Deputy Chairman of the East India Company, or in his private capacity ?

In his private capacity.

When did you see Mr. Hastings, and take these extracts ?

Since I was ordered to attend this Committee as a witness.

Then you know that the copy book of these letters is now in Mr. Hastings's possession ?

It was yesterday ; but it is his copy book of his private letters.

Parts of which you have stated to be on public business—of a public nature ?

The part that I have offered to this Committee is relative to the two lacs received from Cheyt Sing.

Do you know of any objection to the production of the whole of this letter, or of the copy book which contains it, to this Committee ?

I neither know of Mr. Hastings's objection to the producing it, nor that he would approve of it.

Do you know whether there are other letters in that book making similar communications on public matters ?

When I was secretary to Mr. Hastings, I copied various letters into various books. When I asked to see this letter yesterday, we were a long time finding it, and in discovering in what book it was ; and I do not know what particular letters may be in that book, or to what business they relate. I believe no public letters are in it, because it is a private letter book. Perhaps many people in private letters treat of public matters, but I do not know any public letter in the book.

Was that letter sent to be laid before the Court of Directors ?

It was not ; but Mr. Sullivan, in the extract which I meant to produce, is allowed to make a public use of the subject matter of which I speak, if he pleased.—A public letter was sent to the Court of Directors, which I believe is now before this house, some time in the Month of November.—I think this letter, which I have extracted, went in a Danish ship, and was dated 30th August, no English ship sailing at the time.

And

And then the witness was directed to withdraw.

And being again called in,

He was asked,

Was you well acquainted with Mr. Wheler, and how long did you know him?

I went to India with him in the year 1777, lived some time in his house, and during my residence in India, though Secretary to Mr. Hastings at the time when disputes ran high in Council, was always, I believe, considered by him as a private friend, and one of his family whenever I chose to be at his house.

Did you ever hear Mr. Wheler express a disapprobation of the abolition of the Provincial Councils?

I recollect he used often to talk with me upon the subject when upon a party with Mr. Hastings, at the country house of Mr. Croftes: I was at that time, by Mr. Hastings's directions, translating some part of a plan of Gunga Govin Sing. He said he considered the whole of the plan as a good one for the collection of the revenue, on account of the difficulty which he said there was in fixing responsibility upon a body of men like a Council; but he said he thought it too bold a measure, considering Mr. Hastings as an individual, as it might be taken hold of in this country to his prejudice.

Did you ever hear Mr. Wheler say that he had been offered by Mr. Hastings, or any other persons supposed to be connected with Mr. Hastings, a sum of money for giving his consent to the abolition of the Provincial Councils?

Certainly never.

Was you resident at Benares at the time of the insurrection of Cheyt Sing?

I was.

Did you receive information that during that insurrection the two Begums had excited disturbances in Oude, or either of them?

On the day of Captain Mayaffer's defeat at Ramnagur, Mr. Johnson had unaccountably persuaded Mr. Hastings that the best thing for his safety and the welfare of the Company was, that he (Mr. Hastings) should retreat by Jehanpoor, either to Sultanpoor, or Fyzabad, I do not recollect which; and the small body of troops that were then with us were ordered to be ready. As soon as this was made public, the Dauk Moonshy, who transacted the business of the posts under me, came to me with information that large bodies of horse were coming from the extreme parts of the Rajah's dominions by that road; and that Nudjibs and other troops were coming from the district of Fyzabad by that road; and at the same time told me, that immediately as soon as Rajah Cheyt Sing had acquired his liberty by the assassination of the guard over him, he (Raja Cheyt Sing) had dispatched letters, by messengers on horseback, to Fyzabad.

Was you of opinion, from any other facts within your own knowledge,

knowledge, that the Begums and the Eunuchs did afford assistance to Cheyt Sing during the insurrection?

I do not wish to answer to matters of opinion; but I at that time considered, being within two hundred miles of their place, their disaffection as much a thing of notoriety as the American war, or any other event that I had not myself seen.

Do you recollect having conversed with English gentlemen upon that subject? and did that seem to be the prevailing opinion amongst them?

It is a matter I cannot give in evidence, because I cannot name the person I talked to upon that subject.

Do you believe you did converse with English gentlemen upon that subject?

I believe I did—I recollect Captain David Williams, but did not mention him, as his evidence is before the house.

Was you instructed by Mr. Hastings to demand fifty lacks of rupees on the Company's account from Cheyt Sing, previous to the insurrection at Benares?

And then the witness was directed to withdraw.

And being again called in,

The question was repeated.

Never.

Have you reason to believe that Cheyt Sing was told by any other person that Mr. Hastings had made that demand?

I was informed at that time by Mr. Hastings, that Mr. Wheler and Major Palmer, and I believe, Mr. Anderson, were the only persons acquainted with the measure which he meant to carry into execution, that is, of taking the fifty lacks from the Rajah. I was the confidential friend of Mr. Hastings, and the Resident at Benares: I therefore do not suppose that it could have gone through any other channel, or possibly have come to the ears of Rajah Cheyt Sing at that time, and not till after Mr. Hastings published his narrative, as I believe it was not till then generally known.

Was you present at the conversation between Mr. Hastings and Cheyt Sing in the Budjero or boat?

No.

Was you present at all conversations between Mr. Hastings and Cheyt Sing's Vakeel?

To the best of my recollection, immediately upon Mr. Hastings's arrival at Benares he refused to see Cheyt Sing, or any Vakeel from Cheyt Sing; but I certainly was not present at any conversation between Mr. Hastings and the Vakeel.

Was you at Benares and Chunar when Sir Elijah Impey took the depositions at those places, relating to Cheyt Sing's insurrection, and the conduct of the Begums?

I was; but was present but once, to the best of my recollection, when any deposition was taken, and I forget who the people were that made them.

Did you yourself make any deposition on either of those subjects?

I really

I really do not immediately recollect, but if I did it will appear in the book. I considered the depositions as an idle business, and therefore it had no weight on my mind; but I believe I did not.

Do you know any reason why you was not called upon to be examined in this Committee, previous to the vote of this Committee on those subjects?

And the question being objected to;

The witness was directed to withdraw.

And being again called in;

The question was repeated.

I can only say what I heard without doors——that the prosecutor did not suppose my evidence would go to establish the facts which he asserted; and that Mr. Hastings's friends did not call me, as they have called no witnesses:—this is only hearsay.

Do you know whether or not Bahar Ally Cawn was at Chunar, or Benares, while Mr. Hastings was at either of those places?

I believe not; at least I had no intercourse with him, so as to know that he was there.

Did you hear from any one, that he was at either of those places?

To the best of my knowledge not.

Was Mrs. Hastings at Chunar?

After the country was settled, she came first to Benares, and then at Chunar.

What time do you refer to by saying, “after the country was settled?”

When the disturbances, occasioned by Cheyt Sing's revolt, were at an end.

Do you mean after the taking of Bidjegur?

Before the capture of Bidjegur; but as that was so far distant, and confined to such a nook, (if I may use the expression,) of the districts of Benares, I hardly reckon that amongst the disturbances, the rest of the country being perfectly quiet.

Was it before Mr. Hastings returned from Chunar to Benares the first time?

After Mr. Hastings returned to Benares.

Then Mr. Hastings did not see Mrs. Hastings at Chunar till he had gone a second time to that fort?

Mr. Hastings, to the best of my recollection, met Mrs. Hastings on the river somewhere below Benares, after he had returned to Benares from Chunar.

Do you recollect the date, or within a few days of the time?

It was an event that I thought of so little consequence it made no impression on my memory.

How long was it after the Nabob had departed from Chunar?

The Nabob departed from Chunar before Mr. Hastings had left Chunar to return to Benares.

Then the Nabob did not see Mrs. Hastings at Chunar?

No, he did not.

Nor at Benares?

He

He did not.

Was it usual for natives desirous of access to Mr. Hastings to be introduced by Cantoo Baboo?

I wish the question to be explained to me—does the question mean, to be introduced at the door as a matter of ceremony, or that nobody could get access to Mr. Hastings but through Cantoo Baboo?

Was it usual for Natives, desirous of communicating with Mr. Hastings upon business, or other matters, to be introduced by, and to make their applications through Cantoo Baboo?

Some I believe did——some through Mr. Hastings's Moonshee—some through his Aresbeg, or servant of ceremony—many by the native officers, or the European officers of Government. — But I believe a man of high rank would have considered it as disgraceful to have made application for introduction to any body but Mr. Hastings himself; and he was always ready to receive such.

What was Mr. Hastings's Moonshee's name?

I really do not recollect, though I often saw him.

Was he known to be much in Mr. Hastings's confidence?

I do not believe that Mr. Hastings held him in very high esteem as a man of ability—and was therefore more employed in the drudgery of business than in confidential business—but I should not wish this to be taken upon my evidence, for he might be often employed in confidential business.

Did you ever find that the Moonshee and Cantoo Baboo had been employed in secret matters relating to the receipt of presents by Mr. Hastings, which had not been communicated to Mr. Middleton, and others of Mr. Hastings's confidential friends?

I did not know of the receipt of any present, unless by common report in England and in India, excepting the one mentioned in the former part of my evidence.

Then you was not acquainted by Mr. Hastings with the receipt of the present of 100,000*l.* and upwards from the Nabob at Chunar?

I was not—for as it did not come into my department as resident at Benares, communication would have been unnecessary.

Did you hear no rumour of that or other presents, given by the Nabob to Mr. Hastings at that period?

I did not—and afterwards only understood that ten lacks was paid into the Company's treasury, and not received by Mr. Hastings.

Do you recollect when you first heard at all of the transaction?

Not till after it was a thing talked of in public—but the precise time I cannot say.

Was you at Chunar when the Nabob parted from Mr. Hastings?

I was.

Did Hussein Reza Cawn and Hyder Beg Cawn go with the Nabob, or remain behind?

It is a thing I really do not recollect, as I was not concerned in any business relating to Oude.

[The

[The first part of the witness's answer to the 2d question, at the beginning of his evidence, was again read to him.

As the first part of your answer to the second question put to you has no relation to the question, for what purpose have you introduced those circumstances?

I thought it was necessary to mention the reasons of Mr. Hastings's going to Sir John Day, as his relation of the matter of the present of the two lacks to me in the carriage afterwards grew out of the conversation which must have passed between him and Sir John Day. I did not mean to enter into the merits of the cause, or to have brought it before the attention of the Committee.

Do you mean to affirm, that the expence was the only or only material objection made by Mr. Wheler and Mr. Francis to the proposed expedition in Malva, under Major Camac?

I have affirmed nothing of the kind—I have only repeated a conversation between Mr. Hastings and myself, that he said that it was the material part of the objection—It is not I that say it.

Do you mean to affirm, that Mr. Wheler approved of the abolition of the Provincial Councils, and of the institution of the Committee of Revenue in 1781?

I have never spoken of the institution of the Committee of Revenue.—I remember perfectly Mr. Wheler's opinion at that time was, that the collection of the Revenues by Councils was not a wise manner of collecting it—and that at that time his idea was, it would have been better for the country, if small appointments for collections had been made, each to about the amount of eight or ten lacks, and the Company's servants had been appointed to them.

Did Mr. Wheler approve of the change upon the whole—the abolition of the Councils, and the institution of the Committee of Revenue in the place of the Councils?

I do not recollect whether any conversation passed between myself and Mr. Wheler respecting the Committee of Revenue.

Might it not possibly happen, that Mr. Hastings might have made an offer of a sum of money to Mr. Wheler without your knowing it?

I think it most probable that if such a thing was, I should not have known it—because both the one and the other would have avoided letting people into a secret which, upon the face of it, it was for their mutual interest to conceal.

And the witness was directed to withdraw.

DAVID ANDERSON, Esquire, called in, and examined.

How long was you in the Company's Civil Service in Bengal?
About 18 years.

Was you principally employed in the Revenue line?

Yes,

When

When was you appointed President of the Committee of Revenue in Bengal?

About the end of February 1781.

Did you, while President of that Committee, hear that Rajah Cullian Sing and Kelloram had given a sum of money, or a Teep for a sum of money to Mr. Hastings?

When I received the summons of this house, I enquired to what point I was likely to be examined.—In consequence thereof, I made a minute of such circumstances as I could recollect regarding it. If the Committee will give me leave, I beg to refer to that minute.

From whom did you make that enquiry?

From Major Scott.

From whence did you take that minute?

From no place — It is a minute only of the circumstances which I could recollect.

Is that minute made by yourself?

It is.

Did you, while President of the Committee of Revenue, hear that Rajah Cullian Sing and Kelloram had given a sum of money, or a Teep for a sum of money, to Mr. Hastings?

About the end of the year 1780, or the beginning of 1781, I frequently heard reports of money being paid, or promised to be paid, to Mr. Hastings by people concerned in farming or collecting the Revenues; and, in particular, I heard that a sum, which to the best of my recollection was said to be 4 lacks of rupees, had been paid, or promised to be paid, to him by Kelloram in behalf of himself and Cullian Sing, for making the settlement of Bahar.—At first I paid no regard to these reports, as I had little concern with them, and scarcely believed them—but after I came to be President of the General Committee of Revenue, some circumstances made me treat the report regarding Kelloram and Cullian Sing more seriously—I think it was a private correspondence which I had with a friend at Patna, who mentioned to me that one of the parties, I believe Cullian Sing, had positively asserted that a sum was either paid or promised to Mr. Hastings—I well remember that I went to Mr. Hastings, and mentioned to him what I had heard, and that he told me to give myself no concern or uneasiness on the subject, but to proceed in the discharge of my duty, without regard to any thing I might hear—for that any money that had been received from Kelloram, and all the sums which had been received from any of the persons employed in the Revenue, were paid in on account of the Company to the Sub-Treasurer, Mr. Croftes—and I remember, that either upon this or upon some other occasion, he (Mr. Hastings) told me that he thought it was right at that time of public distress to take that method of procuring money for the Company, which could not be procured as part of the established Revenue.—I do not remember that I ever spoke on the subject to Mr. Croftes, though

though it is very possible I did, as he and I met daily at that time in the course of our business, and we were on a very friendly footing—this I am sure of, that nothing that I ever afterwards heard, led me to form the smallest doubt of the truth of what Mr. Hastings had told me.

Who was the person from whom you received the letter sent to you from Patna, and whether that letter exists?

The letter was from Mr. Thomas Law—and I do not know whether it exists or not, as most of my papers are in Scotland, and I have not had an opportunity of referring to them lately.

Do you know any other circumstances, besides that letter, which induces you to believe that money was given to Mr. Hastings?

I have already mentioned reports; but I do not recollect any other circumstance.

Did Mr. Hastings at any time interfere, to prevent the Committee of Revenue from realizing the full amount of the Revenues from Patna, Dinagepoor, or Nuddea?

I do not recollect that ever he did, while I continued to officiate as President of the Committee of Revenue.

Did Mr. Hastings interfere, to prevent the Committee from realizing the full amount of the Revenues from any other divisions of the provinces?

I do not recollect that ever he did.

Was you in habits of intimacy and confidential communication with Mr Shore, who was President in your absence?

Yes.

Did Mr. Shore ever complain, that Mr. Hastings interfered to prevent the Committee from realizing the full amount of those Revenues?

I do not remember that Mr. Shore ever made such complaint.

Did Mr. Hastings, while you presided in the Committee, support its authority in its full extent?

Yes.

Was the British Empire in India in a very precarious state at the close of the year 1781?

And then the witness was directed to withdraw.

And being again called in;

The question was repeated.

As that is a matter of opinion, I should myself have wished to have declined saying what I thought on the subject; but as the Committee are pleased to ask the question, I think myself bound to answer it.—I think the British Empire in India was in a very precarious state during the whole of the year 1781, and for some time after.

Did the separate treaty with Madajee Scindia remove the danger and difficulties with which the English were surrounded in every part of India in 1781, and in part of the following year?

S

By

By no means in every part of India ; it diminished our danger in that particular quarter.

Did it operate to the relief of the distresses in the Carnatic ?

Not immediately ; it led to measures which certainly enabled the Government of Bengal, at a future period, to give more effectual relief to the Carnatic.

Was you deputed by Mr. Hastings to negotiate a peace with the Marattas ?

Yes.

Did you receive a letter, while in the Camp of Madajee Scindia, from Lord Macartney and the Select Committee at Madras, dated some time in March 1782, representing the distressed state of the Carnatic ?

And the question being objected to ;

The witness was directed to withdraw.

And being again called in ;

The question was repeated.

Yes.

Have you that letter ?

Yes.

You will produce it ?

The letter is written in cypher ; and the translation of it is made by myself—It is decyphered by myself.

Was you in possession of the key for decyphering that letter ?

Yes.

[The witness delivers in the letter.]

And then he was directed to withdraw.

And being again called in, the letter was delivered back to him.

Did the letter which you received from the President and Select Committee of Fort St. George, dated 15th March 1782, describe their situation generally, as in the highest degree alarming and dangerous ?

It certainly did.

You will go on to state the contents of that letter ?

And the question being objected to ;

The witness was directed to withdraw.

And being again called in,

He was asked ;

Whether during the troubles of Benares, the Begums, or either of them, according to any information you received, excited disturbances in Oude ?

I understood that there were troubles in Oude, and that they were excited by the Begums.

Was it a generally received opinion amongst the English gentlemen then at Benares, that troops had been levied at Fyzabad for the service of Cheyt Sing ?

I have heard the circumstance ; but I do not remember whether it was a general received opinion or not.

Whether

Whether Mr. Hastings informed you, while you was at Benares, or since, that he had demanded 50 lacks of rupees from Cheyt Sing?

He never did.

Do you recollect having any conversation at Benares or Chunar, with a Vackeel of the Nabob of Farruckabad?

I had frequent conversations with him at Benares.

Did the Vackeel inform you that his master was dissatisfied with the conduct of Mr. Shee, and had applied to Mr. Hastings for his removal?

He complained that the Resident of the English encroached upon the authority of his master, and he therefore certainly wished his removal; but I do not recollect whether or not he said he had applied to Mr. Hastings.

Why, as you said you had left all your papers and letters in Scotland, you happen to have with you the letter from Lord Macartney, which is in cypher?

I believe the honourable member who has proposed the question has misinterpreted my answer; he will find I did not say all.

Whether you do or do not know that receiving presents by any of the servants of the Company, is not only contrary to the orders of the Directors, but contrary to law?

I have understood it is contrary to the orders of the Directors; but as to the point of law, I cannot offer any opinion to this house.

Whether in your opinion Mr. Hastings receiving four lacks of rupees from the two farmers of Bahar is not directly contrary to the orders of the Directors?

If he received them on his own account, I imagine they were.

If he did receive them without any order from the Directors for so doing, is it not your opinion that he was acting contrary to their orders?

I do not recollect ever to have heard that there was any order of the Court of Directors, that the Governor General should not receive money, and bring it to the public account.

Did you ever read the act appointing the Governor General, or are you totally ignorant of it?

I have read it.

What is your opinion of it?

I do not presume to offer any opinion of it to this house.

Why did you select from your papers (the most of which you say you left in Scotland) this particular paper which you have now produced?

Thinking that my correspondence whilst I was employed in the negociation of the Maratta peace might possibly be wanted during my residence in London, I endeavoured to collect all the papers which had any relation to that subject, and brought them along with me.—That letter is one of the papers.

Was you, or was you not, desired to come immediately to London, and to bring this letter and many other papers with you?

I had several motives for coming to London.—Several of my friends wished me to come up, but none of them desired me to bring that letter in particular, nor any other.

What are the names of those several friends?

If the Committee wish to know their names, I have no objection.—Mr. Hastings was certainly one of them.

How long have you been in London?

I came up in November last.

Did the established Revenue of Bahar fall in arrear in the year 1781, and what was the balance?

I can only speak from hearsay. I have heard it fell in arrear, but how much I cannot say.—I was at that time in the Maratta country.

Do you think it a just and safe principle in the management of the revenues, for a Governor General to take money privately from the farmers, in preference to making it part of the public established Revenue?

It is very difficult for me to form an opinion immediately upon that point.—There may be many arguments for it, and many against it.

Can you state any argument for it?

It may be said that it was a custom in the Mahometan Government to receive money as a *Peshcush*, besides the established Revenue; and it might also be said, that the Zemindars or farmers would agree to an extra-payment of that kind, when they would not agree to an increase of the established Revenue: but how far these, or any other arguments which might be suggested in favour of it, will sufficiently justify the practice, I cannot pretend to form any opinion upon.

Would you recommend such a principle to the East India Company, for the management of their Revenue?

I am really incapable of saying whether I would or not.

Do you think that mode the surest to realize the greatest Revenue from the country, and the most secure against fraud and collusion?

It is certainly not the surest against fraud and collusion, but it certainly might answer as an expedient to raise money for a temporary occasion.

Is it your opinion that the Two Farmers General of Bahar paying 40,000l. before they received one farthing of the Revenue, would enable them better in all time coming, to fulfil their agreement with the Company?

If the fact is established, that the money was paid before they received any part of the Revenue, they certainly would not be enabled from thence to pay it the better.

Would

Would they not be disenabled to pay it, so far as the 40,000l. went?

It certainly would be a diminution of their resources.

How long was you President of the Committee of Revenue instituted in 1781?

I retained the office of President to the Committee of Revenue from the end of February 1781 to the end of January 1785?

During what part of that period did you attend and act as President, and during what part of it was you engaged in other employments?

From the time I was appointed till about the middle of July I officiated as President—I was then ordered by the Board to accompany the Governor General to the upper Provinces—In my way I was employed in adjusting some revenue business in Bahar.—In November 1781, whilst I was with the Governor General at Benares, an opening occurring for a general peace with the Marattas, the Governor General sent me upon that, and I continued until the month of November 1783—I was afterwards sent up to the Governor General at Lucknow till October or November 1784; from that time the remaining three months I officiated as President of the Committee of Revenue.

Did you ever see and examine an account of demand, receipt, and balances of the four first years of the Committee's settlement, viz. from April 1781 to July 1785, drawn up by Gunga Govin Sing?

I do not remember.

Was it not in Gunga Govin Sing's office to have drawn out such an account?

From his office such an account might certainly be drawn out—but for the information of the Board, it would have come more officially and properly from Mr. Crofts, who was Accountant General to the Revenue department.

How long, and at what periods, were Mr. Shore and Mr. Charters absent from the Committee of Revenue, and on what account?

I am not sure of the exact period of their absence. Mr. Shore was first absent at Dacca, forming the settlement there: he was afterwards absent at Patna, forming the settlement at that district. Mr. Charters was absent at Patna upon revenue business.

In your absence, and in the absence of Mr. Shore, on whom did the conduct of the whole business of the revenues of the three provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, really and in effect devolve?

Upon the remaining members of the Committee, Mr. Crofts and Mr. Evelyn—Mr. Shore and Mr. Charters I believe were not absent at the same time.

Is it your deliberate opinion that the late Mr. Crofts did possess sufficient knowledge and experience in the revenue branch, as well

well as leisure from his other laborious avocations, to execute the duties of President of the Committee?

I think he possessed abilities and knowledge enough to execute the duties of it as well as any (with a very few exceptions) of the Company's servants. I am not exactly sure what leisure he might have. I am sure it took up all my time. I know he had good assistance in his other office.

Did you ever read a paper written by Mr. John Shore, entitled, "Remarks on the Mode of administering justice to the Natives in Bengal, and on the Collection of the Revenues," and recorded by Mr. M^cPherson on the 18th day of May 1785?

I have read it in England.

Do you admit or deny the truth of the following opinion of Mr. Shore, relative to a Dewan of the Committee of Revenue, viz. "The Committee must have a Dewan or executive officer, call him by what name you please. This man, in fact, has all the revenues paid at the Presidency at his disposal; and can, if he has any abilities, bring all the renters under contribution. It is little advantage to restrain the Committee themselves from bribery or corruption, when their executive officer has the power of practising both undetected."—"That to display the arts employed by a native on such occasions, would fill a volume. He discovers the secret resources of the Zemindars and renters, their enemies and competitors; and by the engine of hope and fear, raised upon these foundations, he can work them to his purposes. The Committee, with the best intentions, best abilities, and steadiest application, must, after all, be a tool in the hands of their Dewan?"

I do not think that I should have written it quite so strong; but I do in a great measure agree to it, that is, I think there is a great deal of truth in his observation; I think, in particular, that it would require great exertion in the Committee, and great abilities on the part of the President, to restrain effectually the conduct of the Dewan.

Who was Dewan of the Committee, from the time of its institution, in the beginning of 1781, to the time you left Bengal?

Gunga Govin Sing.

Could the preceding opinions of Mr. Shore mean to apply to any person but Gunga Govin Sing?

I should imagine they apply generally to the system of appointing a Dewan.

From what specific experience could Mr. Shore draw that opinion, which you suppose to be general, but from the particular conduct of Gunga Govin Sing?

From no other experience but his own in the discharge of his duty.

Did you not consider yourself as very much in the favour and confidence of Mr. Hastings?

I considered

I considered myself as being honoured with a very considerable share of his favour and confidence.

Whether Mr. Hastings informed you of the money which he had taken privately from the Vakeel of Cheyt Sing?

Never. Mr. Hastings's communications to me were generally confined, at that period, to the business in which I was myself engaged.

Did he ever inform you of any money which he had taken from Nundoo du Loll?

Never.

Did he ever inform you of any money which he had taken from Nobkissen?

No, never.

Whether he informed you of the money which he had taken from Kelloram and Cullian Sing, Farmers General of the Province of Bahar, before you applied to him on that occasion?

Never.

Were not all those four latter persons concerned in the management and collection of the revenue, and subject to your Board?

They were; but from what I have since heard I understand that the transaction relative to them, excepting Nundoo du Loll and Nobkissen, happened before the Board was constituted.

Whether, before the Board was constituted, these persons were not under the jurisdiction of some of the Provincial Councils?

They were; but I believe immediately before the constitution of the Board, the districts of Bahar and Dinagepoor paid their Revenues directly to the Presidency, and were withdrawn from the jurisdiction of the Provincial Council; but of this point I am not very clear.

With whom did they make their settlement, and to whom did they pay their rents, at the intermediate time which you have stated?

If I remember right, to the Governor General and Council.

Was there no intermediate officer between the Governor General and Council and them to settle their accounts, and receive their rents?

I believe none, unless the Roy Royan and the superintendant of the Kalfah; but regarding that period my own recollection is not very clear, because my own attention was confined at that time to the district under my own superintendance.

Do you not know enough of the constitution of the Company's system of Revenue, to know under whose jurisdiction they must necessarily be in the first instance?

No; because the system was liable to changes.

You will distinctly answer whether or no all Farmers of Revenue have not some intermediate person to make the settlement, and collect the rents between them and the Governor General?

It was usual, doubtless, to have some intermediate person; but many instances may be found on the Company's records of the settlement

settlement being immediately made by the Governor General and Council.

Whether you have any reason to believe that the Governor General and Council did make the settlement with these Farmers publicly at the board, in their own character of Governor General and Council?

I know so very little of the matter, that I cannot say whether I have reason to believe that they did, or that they did not. I have already observed that I was at that time confined to my own particular department, and at the distance of fifty-six miles from Calcutta.

When you came to the head of the Revenue Department, was it not your duty to know something concerning the settlement made by these men, and to whom they had paid their rents previous to your appointment to the Board.

And the question being objected to,

The witness was directed to withdraw.

And being again called in,

The question was repeated.

It certainly was my duty to know the amount of the settlement, and the various conditions of it, amongst which must be to whom, and at what particular place, the Revenue ought to be paid; but I do not conceive that it was my duty to ascertain by whom, or in what manner, the settlement was made.

You are a man of business—could you possibly know what a recent settlement was, and where the Revenue was to be paid, without knowing to which of the Company's officers that revenue was payable, and who it was that had made that settlement?

I think I must have known to which of the Company's officers it was payable, because the Kalsah was the office under the Council, to which only any Revenues not made payable to the Provincial Councils, or the Collectors, could well be paid; and of that office there was a regular superintendant: but I might have heard generally that the settlement of a district was made by the Governor General and Council, without knowing what particular officer they chose to employ in effecting it, or whether it was done immediately at the Board, in their own presence, or not.

You are desired to answer not as to what you might hear, but as to what you officially knew?

I do not remember that I knew any thing officially, further than what I have said.

Did you not know that Gunga Govin Sing was concerned in the settlement or collection of Dinagepoor, one or both?

I did not know officially that he was concerned in the settlement—I may have heard it, and I think I have: but with respect to his being concerned in the collections of Dinagepoor, before the General Committee of Revenue was formed, so far from knowing it then, if this Committee have it not before them on authentic evidence, I should be inclined to doubt it at this moment.

You

You are desired to say in what capacity Gunga Govin Sing made the settlement of Dinagepore ?

I do not know positively that he did make the settlement of Dinagepore ; but if he did, he may have done it as deputy Canongoe, which office he held ; or as a person in whose knowledge and abilities the Governor General and Council could confide.

If he was not concerned in the public collection, what must be the effect of collecting a sum of money in that Province privately for the Governor General in the collection of another person ?

I should think it scarcely probable that he did collect in that Province—if he collected any thing, it was more likely to be remitted to him in Calcutta.

Through whose hands did the negociation or settlement of the money privately paid to Mr. Hastings from the Patna district, pass ?

I do not know.

Have you heard of the transaction, without hearing of the agent ?

Yes.

Did you never enquire ?

Most likely I never did.

Did you or did you not enquire ?

I can speak to the best of my recollection that I never did.

Do you think that if your Dewan was a private agent for the Governor General, in the collection of a secret revenue for him, and that he was known to be such among the Farmers, it would not much weaken the power and authority of your Board, and strengthen that of the Dewan ?

I did not find it so.

Whether you did not attend Mr. Hastings up to Benares in 1781 ?

I attended him up to Patna, and rejoined him at Benares.

What reason did the Governor General give for taking you from your duty, and causing you to attend him to Benares ?

I believe his reasons are upon record—I believe it was because he thought I could be of assistance to him.

In what ?

In the objects of his journey.

What were those objects ?

They are detailed in the Governor General's minute.

And then the witness was directed to withdraw.

And being again called in ;

He was asked,

For what purpose was you taken up to Benares ?

For the purpose of assisting the Governor General in such business as might come before him in his journey to the Northern Provinces.

Was you entrusted by the Governor General with the knowledge of the presents which he had taken from the Nabob and his ministers ?

No.—I was not.

T

And

And then the witness was directed to withdraw.
 And it being proposed to examine William Popham, Esquire,
 a member, in his place;
 The said member declined being examined.

Then an Extract of a Letter from the Governor General and
 Council of Bengal, dated Fort William, October 16, 1781,
 signed Edward Wheler, John Macpherfon, was read, as fol-
 lows:

‘ 25. Fortunately for the other Presidencies, cultivation was never
 ‘ in higher perfection, or more productive than it is at present,
 ‘ in this country. There is likewise a prospect of great in-
 ‘ crease, with more ease to the natives, from the present mode
 ‘ of collecting the revenue. In every new arrangement, the
 ‘ satisfaction and security of the natives must be first considered;
 ‘ it is upon their happiness a wise Government will ever en-
 ‘ deavour to establish its prosperity, and whatever line the issue
 ‘ of war may leave, as the boundary of our territories over all
 ‘ India, upon the establishment of general peace, policy, if not
 ‘ justice, directs, that our chief frontiers should be occupied by
 ‘ allies, who have an interest in standing between us and the
 ‘ incursions of enemies; and who should be taught to feel that
 ‘ their arms were necessary only against those enemies, and not
 ‘ against our own ambition.’

Then an Extract of the Revenue Letter from Bengal, dated
 24th August 1786, received by the Ranger, was read, as
 follows:

‘ 6th. In our last dispatch from the Public Department, un-
 ‘ der date the 3d of July last, you were duly informed of the
 ‘ abolition of the Committee, and consequent institution of the
 ‘ new Board of Revenue; and we now beg leave to refer you to
 ‘ the consultation marked in the margin, for the few general re-
 ‘ gulations which we have prepared and furnished them with,
 ‘ to serve as a constitution to their Board; on which we shall
 ‘ only here further observe, that the rules therein prescribed for
 ‘ their guidance, are drawn principally from those established at
 ‘ the institution of the late Committee of Revenue in February
 ‘ 1781, with such alterations only as your orders of the 21st of
 ‘ September 1785, appeared to render necessary.

‘ 7th. We feel great satisfaction in being able to transmit to
 ‘ you a number in the packet, the copy of a letter addressed to
 ‘ us from the office of the Accomptant General to the Revenue
 ‘ Department, conveying two statements (copies of which are
 ‘ also

also transmitted) of the reductions we have been able to make in the charges of that department; from which you will observe the manner in which they have been ultimately reduced within the sum of 72,00,000 of rupees, to which your order of the 11th of April 1785 had limited them. The accounts above referred to being in themselves sufficiently explanatory, we shall only observe, that you may rely on our utmost attention to keep this establishment in time to come within the bounds to which you have confined it.

8th. The Board of Revenue having just furnished us with a general state of the settlement, receipts, and balances of the Revenues at Bengal and Bahar, for the Bengal year 1192, ending in April last, we have the honour of transmitting a copy of it a number in the Packet, together with a copy of the Board of Revenue's address to us on this occasion, and of the several accompanying explanations of the ultimate balance; which we are happy to observe to be comparatively so very inconsiderable, amounting on the whole to only rupees 8,86,269. 11. 92. of which the Board deem nearly six lacks to be still recoverable; so that we have reason to believe that the collections in general for the last Bengal year 1192, or 1785-6, have been very successfully realized, as will be sufficiently evident, from a comparison of the accounts of this and former years, since the date of your servants himself assumed the immediate agency of the Dewanny; and we have the more satisfaction in making this remark, from the opinion we entertain, that so near a completion of the collection of the annual rental has not been the effect of any strain on the country at large, or on any part thereof; which is, we are convinced, well enough able to bear its present assessment, provided due care be taken to prevent all oppressions from individuals; and if our present views succeed, in respect to the advantages expected to be derived from the institution of the office of Sheristadar, and the proposed general enquiry into the Bazee Zeemeen, or alienated lands, your Government in this country may have the happiness of increasing perhaps considerably further your territorial resources without injury to the inhabitants from whom they were derived.'

Then an Extract of a Minute of Warren Hastings, Esquire, in the Revenue Department, dated in December 1782*, was read as follows :

' This estimate being formed on sales actually made, it must be correct; and it appears, that the profit has greatly exceeded the expectations of the Comptroller, when he delivered in

* Vide Paper, intituled, "Copy of Minutes of Warren Hastings, Esquire, and John Macpherson, Esquire, in the Revenue Department, relative to the increase of the Revenues, dated in December 1782."

‘ his last estimate, from which the above-mentioned sum of
 ‘ Sicca rupees 29,93,132. 2. 14. 3. was stated.

‘ I shall close this minute by stating the increase which has
 ‘ actually been made in the Revenue branch, as it has been
 ‘ proved by the preceding calculations: I include the profit on
 ‘ the salt, although formed on a comparison of a more remote
 ‘ period than that of the Land Revenue, because it is the effect of
 ‘ a new and improving source, which, until the year 1187,
 ‘ yielded a very scanty and precarious Revenue, and even that
 ‘ annually declining; and which was improved in the succeed-
 ‘ ing year, 1188, and will most probably be made to yield a
 ‘ still greater increase of income.

‘ I shall add the profit arising to the Company from the
 ‘ reduction on the price of the articles of which the investment
 ‘ is composed, because it must be considered as an increase
 ‘ of income to the Company in Europe; and it is a particular
 ‘ satisfaction to me, to find that the whole amounts to upwards
 ‘ of one million sterling per annum.

‘ The Increase is as follows:

‘ On Land Revenue, as before	
stated Sa. Rs. 32,40,150 15 10 3;	or, Cr. Rs. 37,58,575 12 2 0
‘ Salt do. Sa. Rs. 40,91,769 12 18 2;	
	or, Cr. Rs. 47,46,452 15 7 0
	<hr/>
	Cr. Rs. 85,05,028 1 9 0
‘ To this I add the reduction in the	
‘ cost of investment, which I esti-	
‘ mate at — —	12,00,000 0 0 0
	<hr/>
‘ Total increase of annual income to	
‘ the Company, —	Cr. Rs. 97,05,028 1 9 0
	<hr/>
‘ Making at the Company’s exchange of two shillings and a	
‘ penny for the Current Rupee, the sum of pounds sterling one	
‘ million ten thousand nine hundred and forty-eight, eight	
‘ shillings six-pence and three farthings.	
‘ (Signed) WARREN HASTINGS.’	

Then an Extract of Mr. Macpherson’s Minute, dated in De-
 cember 1782*, was read, as follows:

‘ As a supplement to the Governor General’s minute, and in
 ‘ further testimony of the advantages which the Company derive
 ‘ from an united administration in their controuling Presidency,
 under

* Vide same Paper.

‘ under the direction of animated public zeal and great talents,
 ‘ I beg here to subjoin an extracted account signed by the acting
 ‘ Accountant General, which shews that the efforts of this Go-
 ‘ vernment to support the other Presidencies in supplies of money,
 ‘ provisions, and military stores, have been such as must draw
 ‘ the admiration of our employers.

‘ Previous to my arrival in India, these efforts of supply were
 ‘ great and well-timed, especially in the Carnatic ; but the very
 ‘ increase of the resources, which the Governor General has sta-
 ‘ ted in his minute, and the severity with which the late Resi-
 ‘ dent, and the subsequent Acting Resident at Oude, were call-
 ‘ ed upon to do their duty to the Company, have been the four-
 ‘ ces from which our supplies in favour of the other presidencies
 ‘ have been chiefly derived.

‘ The total amount of these supplies, from the 30th September
 ‘ 1781 to the 1st of November 1782, appears to be current ru-
 ‘ pees — — — 2,35,70,007 2 2

Then several Extracts of a Letter from Mr. Macpherson to the
 Court of Directors, dated Calcutta, 30th March 1783*, was
 read, as follows :

‘ Of the general distress of your affairs in all your presiden-
 ‘ cies in the latter end of August 1781, when I arrived at Ma-
 ‘ dras, you have long since had authentic accounts ; but of the
 ‘ danger to which the very existence of the Company was then
 ‘ exposed you can have no adequate idea. Your army towards
 ‘ Bombay had been obliged to retreat from a gallant but un-
 ‘ successful enterprize towards Poona ; and it required great
 ‘ bravery and skill to secure their retreat from the Gauts to the
 ‘ sea side. Your presidency of Bombay was then near a Crore
 ‘ of rupees in debt, notwithstanding the immense supplies from
 ‘ Bengal, and their newly-acquired Revenues. The utmost of
 ‘ their military exertions, though supported by an army from
 ‘ Bengal, and though they had raised many new battalions, was
 ‘ directed to keep the Marattas in check.

‘ In the Carnatic, your principal settlement, and your main
 ‘ army under Sir Eyre Coote, were surrounded by the army of
 ‘ Hyder, who had indeed been defeated on the 1st of July 1781,
 ‘ but who from that check seemed only to have become more
 ‘ guarded and determined in his purpose. Neither your army, nor
 ‘ even Fort St. George itself, had at that time above a few days
 ‘ provisions in store ; nor could there be any prospect of supply

* Vide copy of a letter from the Governor General and Council of Bengal,
 dated 16th October 1781, and from John Macpherson, Esquire, to the Court of
 Directors of the East India Company, dated in March 1783.

‘ from the country. Your Treasury at Fort St. George was empty; your credit could not be said to exist in any active force.

‘ At Bengal, on which your other presidencies depended almost entirely for supplies, your treasury was drained, and every effort of raising money by loan, by annuity, and by partial remittances, had been tried; and to complete the measure of your difficulties, a rebellion had broken forth upon your frontiers at Benares, which threatened destruction to all your possessions, from the source of the mouths of the Ganges, and in every quarter of India.

‘ Such was the crisis at which it was my destiny to become one of the members of the superior administration of India. Few, who could have seen the real difficulties of the part I had to act, would have envied my situation, and the most obstinate party contention had but ceased to rage in the scene where I was to begin my part.

‘ I shall leave it to your Governor and Commander in Chief, upon the coast of Coromandel, to state, whether I was of any aid to their Councils in so desperate a crisis. At all events, I esteem myself fortunate in having joined my efforts to theirs to promote a favourable impression upon the Maratta state. The confidence which the Nabob of Arcot reposed in my opinion was not unserviceable to the East India Company upon that trying occasion. I proposed that he should place the seal of the Carnatic in the hands of the Commander in Chief of our Forces, that he might grant Sunnuds to the petty Rajahs and Poligars, to exempt them from future tributes, in proportion as they might assist the army with provision or force from their different retreats. It was my opinion that your seal should have been sent to guarantee these deeds of concession: Sir Eyre Coote felt the public advantages of this proposition, and marched through the Pollams of these Rajahs and Zemindars, that lay between Madras and Vellore: They supplied him with provisions; he defeated Hyder on the Plains of Shulingerhur; he afterwards relieved Vellore, took Chittoor, and returned to Madras, after an absence of about 3 months, when the supplies of provision from Bengal arrived seasonably for the support of Fort St. George and your army.

‘ On the 29th of September I arrived at Calcutta, where I found Mr. Wheler alone in charge of the Government; he was labouring with the best intentions, good humour, and ability, to maintain your affairs. I shall not attempt to describe the situation of the settlement, and the variety of apprehension that agitated the public opinion. The Governor General had with great spirit recovered his ground at Benares. The attachment and spirit of your officers flew to him from every quarter; but all the Provinces seemed still to tremble, from the shock of the convulsion on the 24th of August at Benares.

‘nares. The collections did not flow in their regular course;
 ‘all depended upon regularity and vigour in that department;
 ‘for your collections were chiefly in the hands of native renters
 ‘and Zemindars, and it is their rule to be no longer punctual
 ‘in their payments, than the state can attend to them respec-
 ‘tively, and is in force to compel them.’

* ‘To my superior colleagues must be due the chief merit
 ‘of such reforms, for to them the labour must have been more
 ‘irksome. As far as my own example would operate, in avoid-
 ‘ing to trouble the public finance with the distresses of depen-
 ‘dants, or the claims of favour and recommendation, your re-
 ‘cords will do me ample justice: on the encrease of the Reve-
 ‘nue, I beg leave to refer to the Governor General’s minute of
 ‘the 13th December last, and my reply in the Revenue Depart-
 ‘ment.

‘That minute shews, from accurate calculation and figures,
 ‘that your resources have been virtually encreased in the prece-
 ‘ding year about 700,000 pounds sterling. It may not be quite
 ‘out of the way here to observe, that by enforcing the exact
 ‘statements of your most able Accountant General, an error,
 ‘which had gradually arisen to the amount of forty-three lacks
 ‘of rupees, in account between the Company and the Vizier at
 ‘Oude, is now in train of realization, under the management of
 ‘your new Resident at Oude, Mr. John Bristow, whom your
 ‘Governor General promoted to that office agreeable to your
 ‘orders, whenever he found that the former Resident neglected
 ‘his duty.

‘5th. On the subject of the supplies which have been sent
 ‘from hence, from the period of my arrival, for the support of
 ‘the war in your other presidencies, I have the honour of trans-
 ‘mitting to you the accompanying official account, signed by
 ‘your Accountant General; from this account you will please
 ‘to observe, that the amount remitted and actually paid, from
 ‘the 30th September 1781 to the 1st March 1783, is two
 ‘crores and fifty-eight lacks one thousand three hundred and
 ‘fifty-six rupees; besides the treasure and stores that were sent
 ‘some days since, with Sir Eyre Coote, to the coast, and bills
 ‘accepted by this Government, and under payment, making in
 ‘all a sum little short of three millions sterling.

‘If you will take the trouble to peruse attentively the letters
 ‘of this Government to Madras and Bombay, and General
 ‘Goddard, on the 26th December 1781, you will in those letters
 ‘be not more satisfied with the exertions which this Govern-
 ‘ment have made in supply, than with the plan of co-operation
 ‘which was so early recommended to both these presidencies, and

* Read from the same Paper.

‘ in

‘ in which they were cautioned against the operations of our natural enemies, which in the ensuing February burst on the Carnatic.’

‘ * It was my belief that Great Britain, after the opposition and separation of America, and attacked by so many powerful enemies at home and abroad, could neither exist in her finances nor liberties, if India was not saved, and our competitors here completely counteracted.

‘ The separation of America came on by degrees ; and trade, which was our only return from thence, opened her course through other channels with success. America yielded to Britain no landed revenue ; and each colony there had, like the mother country, anticipated by debt the Revenues of many years. India was scarcely one year’s Revenue in debt. The loss of such a dominion, if it was to happen, would be sudden, would be total. It would be irrecoverable by any efforts from home. It would prove the instant loss of millions of individuals, and many millions of the public property. It would at once annihilate those funds which constitute the subsistence of all the creditors of the India Company, at home and abroad ; it would fall upon the other funds of the state with a shock that would strike the remotest land-holder in Britain, and involve him ultimately in the same fate with those who lived upon the interest of the public debts. But to complete the misery of such an universal catastrophe, our natural enemies, who were in force and alliance upon the spot, would succeed to the remains of our fortune ; from that succession they could maintain their future tenure, and dictate to Britain the last terms of despotic superiority.

‘ No person but one who had once seen the Carnatic in its prosperity, and who afterwards saw it in the misery in which I beheld it, could conceive the reality of the general scene of distress which I have described as within the possibility of human events. There I saw men who supposed themselves, and who literally were, worth princely fortunes a few years before, absolutely in want of bread. The whole substance of a great colony, the credit of a mighty Company, and of Ally Princes, were extinguished by the sword of desolation. “ You may come on shore,” writes Lord Macartney to me the day I came to anchor in the roads, “ but if the gentlemen who are passengers with you come along with you, they must sleep in the streets.” And where was at that instant the existence of the India Company ? Only in the Revenues of Bengal ; and in Bengal a situation of affairs similar to that which existed in the Carnatic was to be greatly apprehended ; and had it actually

* Read from the same Paper.

‘ taken

‘ taken place, I leave it to your own ideas to reflect whether the
 ‘ general catastrophe which I have represented as possible, was
 ‘ not to be dreaded as a certain consequence. France looked to
 ‘ such a reversion in your fortune ; and when you see her arma-
 ‘ ments prepared upon a scale of force and expence, which is the
 ‘ utmost that her faculties can send against India, you cannot be
 ‘ too sensibly awakened to the dangers you have escaped, nor
 ‘ consider those events as impossible, which could alone reim-
 ‘ burse your natural enemies, or give them any prospect of future
 ‘ advantage from such extraordinary efforts.

‘ Such are the dangers to you, and to the public interests,
 ‘ which proper exertions in the office I hold might be instru-
 ‘ mental to ward off and prevent, or which inability or wicked-
 ‘ ness in the same office might precipitate upon the state. In the
 ‘ period in which I held the office, and the crisis of that period,
 ‘ no British subject would possess a greater field for averting pub-
 ‘ lic evil, or rendering public service.—I became a member of
 ‘ your superior administration of India at a moment when it was
 ‘ a question whether India itself was not to be lost for ever or
 ‘ greatly saved ! For four months another member of Govern-
 ‘ ment and I held the administration ; and for more than twelve
 ‘ months your administration consisted only of three members ;
 ‘ so that I was the third and deciding voice between colleagues,
 ‘ who had but recently recovered from habits of a most decided
 ‘ opposition.’

Then several Extracts of a Copy of a Letter from Sir J. Macpher-
 son, Baronet, to the Court of Directors, dated 10th August
 1786, were read ; as follows :

‘ 5. The condition in which Earl Cornwallis will receive the
 ‘ government of India, is creditable to the Company, and cannot
 ‘ but be satisfactory to the nation. The native inhabitants of
 ‘ this kingdom are, I believe, the happiest and best protected
 ‘ subjects in India ; our native allies and tributaries are satisfied,
 ‘ and confide in our protection ; the country powers are emu-
 ‘ lously aspiring to the friendship of the English ; and from the
 ‘ King of Tidore, towards New Guinea, to Timur Shaw, on
 ‘ the banks of the Indus, there is not a state that has not lately
 ‘ given us proofs of confidence and respect. The difficulties
 ‘ which arose on the subject of the late Treaty of Peace with
 ‘ France, have terminated in a convention necessary for the
 ‘ immediate tranquillity, and fortunate for the future repose of
 ‘ India. The returning Indiamen of last season will have car-
 ‘ ried to you valuable cargoes, with few extra demands upon
 ‘ your credit ; the ships of this season will do the same ; and
 ‘ your credit in India stands at present so high, that there are
 ‘ few subscriptions to the bills, into which you permitted your
 ‘ debts (to the amount of six Crores) to be exchanged. The

discount upon your bond debts is still heavy; but notwithstanding the aggregate mass of all your debts, such is the confidence of your creditors in the regulations adopted for the Bengal Treasury, that the certificates of an old date bear little discount, and those newly issued but 9 per cent.—Yet these certificates are in no shape set off as before, against receipts of Revenue: nothing is admitted at your treasury as Revenue, but specie, in which your armies are now regularly paid up to the month. The reductions effected in the established expenses of Bengal are not so important as the checks established against future expence: in both you possess the best proofs of the integrity of your administration.'

9. If you will look back to the general position of your affairs in August 1781, in the Carnatic, the West of India, and in Bengal, you will see an accumulation of disaster, and the most extraordinary reverse of prosperity. That untoward position of affairs in the East was in alarming coincidence with the state of affairs in the West; America was finally lost; yet the enormous wealth which poured in from our mismanagements in India resisted the first effects of that event. The money acquired in the progress of our conquests in the Maratta country, the surplus revenue of India from 1778, and the aggregate amount of the Company's present debts at home and abroad, formed an immense fund of private property; it poured upon the nation in gold, in jewels, in silver, in bills, and in the cargoes of British and Foreign Indiamen; it formed a recruit for the public stock, which, amidst wise regulations, after the close of a most expensive war, and the loss of thirteen Provinces, raised the public funds to their former standard, and maintained Great Britain in her former power among nations.

10. Had India been lost, the scene would have been reversed; the capital of the Company's debts, and of those due by her allies and dependants, would have vanished like a dream; the returning cargoes, and the gold and jewels in the hands of British Individuals, would have become the property of our enemies; and a landed Revenue, nearly equal to the unappropriated income of Great Britain, would have left us with only the remembrance of past possession.

11. To examine by the standard of common misconduct any errors of those who prevented such a disaster, and saved such a stake for the Empire, is not the most liberal construction of justice, nor is it altogether worthy of a great nation. There cannot be a question but the salvation of India may be clearly traced to the effects of a general system; in which the following considerations strike with particular credit and efficacy.

12. The prompt and efficient public zeal of Mr. Hastings, in sending Sir Eyre Coote, with the proper force and resource,

at

‘ at the moment of danger, to the Carnatic; the unexampled
 ‘ perseverance and gallantry of that General, who expired in a
 ‘ last great effort for his country; the confidence of the Nabob
 ‘ of Arcot, who surrendered his remaining revenues to the Com-
 ‘ pany; the systematic integrity with which those Revenues
 ‘ were realized and disbursed; the eventful battle, in which Sir
 ‘ Edward Hughes, with a very inferior force, attacked, and dis-
 ‘ comfited and dispersed, the great expedition of Mr. Suffrein —
 ‘ a service to the nation, surpassed only by the modest merit of
 ‘ its author, and the wild enthusiasm with which France has ce-
 ‘ lebrated the conduct of his opponent, whose future efforts
 ‘ could have no decisive effect in the contest for India.

‘ 13. Nor, in looking back to efforts of individual leaders,
 ‘ ought we to forget the first success of the unfortunate General
 ‘ Mathews; the decisive repulse of Tippoo, by General Mac-
 ‘ leod, at the head of his native corps, at Panang; the successes of
 ‘ Colonel Fullarton; and above all, the defence of Mangalore, by
 ‘ Lieutenant Colonel Campbell—a defence which astonished
 ‘ our native enemies, and which obtained for its author, from the
 ‘ administration of the veteran officers of France, the appellation
 ‘ of the Turenne of India.

‘ 14. To specify more particularly the brilliant actions and
 ‘ meritorious service which, in the military and political line, ef-
 ‘ fected the preservation of India, and the discomfiture of our na-
 ‘ tive and European enemies, would be unnecessary: they are
 ‘ already known and applauded; and, to the general credit of
 ‘ our nation, it may be truly said, that those served best who had
 ‘ the greatest field for service, in the late war in India.

‘ 15. But, notwithstanding these distinguished features of the
 ‘ general scene of the last war, it must be acknowledged that,
 ‘ next to the efforts of the Company, and of his Majesty’s Mi-
 ‘ nisters at home, the safety of India was chiefly owing to the
 ‘ unwearied exertions of the Bengal Council for three years,
 ‘ and their firmness in that fortunate policy by which, while
 ‘ they provided the resources of the war, they maintained the
 ‘ Company’s commerce and investment, disarming the hostility
 ‘ of the native states, and exerting every influence and force
 ‘ against the views of European adversaries.

‘ 16. If the Company will be pleased to re-peruse the letter of the
 ‘ Supreme Council of Bengal, written to them in the Secret Depart-
 ‘ ment on the 16th October, 1781, they will find, that the general
 ‘ distress of their affairs at that time was fully comprehended, and
 ‘ fairly met; that systematic regulations were resolved upon to re-
 ‘ trieve their interests; and that measures were promised, upon
 ‘ a clear and enlarged view of India, which were regularly ful-
 ‘ filled: nothing can be more interesting than such a record, nor
 ‘ can the Company or the nation peruse it with too much at-
 ‘ tention. You will pardon me for making some of the para-

graphs a part of this letter. In times of future, and perhaps of similar distress, it will be fortunate if your ruling servants are equally successful in estimating events, and in fulfilling the promises which they may make to their country; and permit me to observe, that in all times it will be no mean security to the public, if, without despondency or despair on one hand, or overweening confidence on the other, your servants pursue the manly line of ascertaining the remedy, without shrinking from the evil, and if finally they appeal to their first declarations, as the criterion of all their subsequent conduct.'

Then the following Extract of Bengal Secret Consultations of the 22d of October 1781, being a Letter from Fort St. George, dated the 20th of September 1781*, was read, as follows:

'Honourable Sir, and Sirs,

'Amidst the difficulties which involve this settlement, it is some consolation to us, that a member of your Board has had so late an opportunity of judging, on the spot, of the evils which threaten or surround us, as well as our efforts to avert them.

'The enemy, beaten though not expelled, continues by his cavalry, to which we have no cavalry to oppose, to lay waste the whole country.

'We are thus deprived of provisions, and of Revenue arising from any part of the territories belonging to this Presidency, except from the Circars. The expences of the Civil Establishment are about 18,000 Pagodas per month. The military expences, exclusive of the detachment sent from Bengal under Colonel Pearse, amount to about 2,00,000 Pagodas monthly. The civil and military arrears exceed already 10 lacks of Pagodas. — To answer such demands, there is now in the treasury the sum of about 1,50,000 Pagodas, with little expectation of getting any considerable remittances from our subordinates for several months.

'That the garrison daily attacked or threatened, and the army occupied in the field, might have less occasion to murmur on account of arrears, we have stopped all payment in the Civil Establishment for a year past; which, though proper in the consideration we have mentioned, has however thrown the settlement into very poignant distress.

'The army having been entirely supplied with provisions from hence, and the consumption of this settlement so increased by the fugitives from the cruelties of Hyder, we now, notwithstanding the great importations of grain from Bengal and the Circars, have not 1,000 bags in store: there are about 18,000 bags in divers Vessels in the road. From the list you

* Read from Copy of Consultations and Correspondence relative to Mr. Auriol's Agency for supplying Rice, &c. to the other Presidencies,

' sent us of ships said to be bound from Calcutta with grain,
 ' for the account of the Company and individuals, there remains
 ' seventy thousand bags of rice to arrive yet here ; but by a cal-
 ' culation of the consumption of that article, restrained as it has
 ' been by the high price it bore, and by regulations in the vent
 ' of it, it is evident that nothing less than a supply of 150,000
 ' bags will prevent, before the end of the year, a famine here, of
 ' the approach of which there appears at present some most af-
 ' fecting symptoms. Our letters from the Circars, though they
 ' mention abundance of grain, declare also the impossibility of
 ' sending it to us, through want of tonnage. We have indeed
 ' taken up the few ships that could be had here, to bring us
 ' provisions from thence, but the whole is inconsiderable, com-
 ' paratively to the prospect of our wants ; and it is from your
 ' hands, whose liberality in furnishing us troops, money, and
 ' provisions, we have so long and so much experienced, that we
 ' must expect our chief support.

' We must observe, that we have had no assistance of any
 ' kind, from the southern parts of this coast. Many of the forts
 ' are in possession of our European or Indian enemies, which has
 ' greatly interrupted the communication ; and the seizure, by
 ' some of his Majesty's squadron, of Vessels laden with grain for
 ' this market, as belonging to black people residing under the
 ' protection of the Dutch, is thought to have deterred many
 ' others, in their neighbourhood, from venturing out with sup-
 ' plies for us.

' To the continuance of these evils we are not yet able to
 ' foresee a termination ; for, though the bravery and discipline
 ' of our troops, and the ability and experience of Sir Eyre Coote,
 ' have been attended with repeated victories, yet such are the
 ' difficulties that obstruct his progress, such is the facility the
 ' enemy possesses of over-running and desolating the country,
 ' that the General entertains but little hope of enabling us to
 ' draw any supply of food or treasure from it. He has not
 ' been able hitherto to penetrate far into the country, either to
 ' the relief of our remote garrisons, or to the attack of the prin-
 ' cipal forts held by Hyder. As the whole conduct of the war
 ' has been entrusted to him, in consequence of a resolution of
 ' the late administration here, we have applied to him for a com-
 ' munication of his intentions, absolutely necessary to be
 ' known to us now, though hitherto we have contented
 ' ourselves either in exerting our authority in the manner he de-
 ' sired, or transferring it to him, for the purpose of forwarding
 ' his measures. He is now engaged in an attempt to relieve the
 ' garrison of Vellore, and possibly to attack Arcot, of which the
 ' event will no doubt determine his future plans ; on which,
 ' and on the necessity of our situation, the resolutions of this
 ' Presidency will be founded. If the enemy should still continue
 ' his

his depredations in the Carnatic, thereby depriving us, in fact, entirely of the benefit of it, we must, with regard to all effectual resource, consider ourselves as immured within the walls of Fort St. George; and, were even the enemy to withdraw from our neighbourhood, so effectually have all traces of cultivation disappeared, so destroyed are the villages, so ruined and dispersed are the individuals who were employed in tillage, that the inhabitants of the towns can, during part of next year, as well as in the end of the present, be by no other means preserved from famine than by external resource, mostly from your Government.

We owe to the situation in which you are placed respecting this settlement—we owe to the exertions which you have made to extricate it from its difficulties—to lay before you its present state, from which you may judge of the fatal consequences which may attend the continuance of the war in the Carnatic, if the enemy should not soon be driven from it by our army, or be otherwise induced to retreat from it. That very army, by the vast load of expence, and additional consumption of provisions, it must necessarily occasion, must hasten the misery of the settlement. Unless therefore our troops shall, in their present attempt, succeed, at least in procuring food and money for their own subsistence, we shall be compelled to divide them into cantonments;—happy if we could direct the whole, or part of them, to some national object that might compensate for past disappointment.

We have the honour to be,

Honourable Sir, and Sirs,

Your most obedient humble servants,

(Signed) MACARTNEY,
ANTH. SADLEIR,
WM. WILLIAMS.

Fort St. George.

20th September 1781.

Then an Extract from the Supplement to the Second Report from the Select Committee, appointed to take into Consideration the State of the Administration of Justice in the Provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa*, was read, as follows:

It appears to your Committee, that if the Conduct of Mr. Hastings towards Cheyt Sing has been such as to merit the approbation of this house, the two members of the Supreme Council, Mr. Wheler and Mr. Macpherson, are entitled to their share of that approbation, by the unreserved manner in which they have justified his acts. If, on the other hand, the House shall be of opinion, that the proceedings against Cheyt Sing were unjust, oppressive, and contrary to public faith,

* Read from page 22 of the said paper.

‘ those Members of the Council who approved those proceedings
‘ are implicated in the criminality.’

Then an Extra^d of the Minute of the Board, entered in the Consultations of 14th January 1782 *, was read, as follows:

‘ On the subject of the Treaty concluded on the 18th of September last, between the Governor General and the Nabob Vizier, and which the difficulties of the communication prevented the Governor General from explaining so fully before; the Board have to observe, that the Treaty is evidently a political expedient, which forfeits no advantage, which promises the acquisition of many, and which, properly managed by this Government, (as events favourable, or even unfavourable, arise,) may lead to the final and complete arrangement of an alliance with the Vizier. Such an alliance, being less oppressive to him, may be more advantageous and honourable to the Company, and may remove that too general but dangerous impression, which the different States of this country have received from the double character in which we have hitherto appeared in India—that of allies and conquerors.

‘ If the Nabob Vizier should not be able, under the support of the troops of this Government stationed at Cawnpore, to maintain the tranquillity of his dominions, and collect those resources which are necessary to defray even his reduced expences, and discharge his heavy debt to the Company, a new arrangement must follow; and that arrangement necessarily, at the express request of the Vizier, will secure every advantage that can be wished or expected from his provinces by this Government.

‘ The reduction of that heavy burthen of expence, which was at once oppressive to the Vizier, and of no return to the Company, (though a source of patronage to this administration,) the Board approve of most heartily, and, with a full sense of the credit which a measure of such difficulty and unpleasantness reflects upon the Governor General, they take this occasion of pledging to him and to their employers their utmost support, not only in this, but in every other branch of public œconomical reformation which he may propose.

‘ Upon the return of the Governor General, the Board resolve to discuss with him those parts of the Treaty which carry the appearance of a hasty agreement. The disaffection of many of the Vizier’s principal Jagheerdars, and the steps which, from the representations of Colonel Hannay, and other officers, appear to have been rapidly taken by the Begums, to support the rebellion of Cheyt Sing, were probably very early known to the Governor General, and through the

* Read from Appendix, No. 13, to the Supplement to the Second Report from the said Select Committee.

‘ medium of all the suspicions that his situation, at the time he met the Vizier, had naturally created.

‘ At such a moment, and under such suspicions, and even while the issue of the contest of Cheyt Sing was depending, it is not surprizing that some parts of the agreement between the Governor General and the Vizier were speedily adjusted, and, as the Governor acknowledges, in conversation at their first interview.

‘ A short time will satisfy the Board, whether the Vizier is willing or able to fulfil his part of the Treaty : If he is that, and the Company can recover their debt from him in their present emergency and distress of their affairs, the Board cannot then but agree, that the Governor General has acted in the arrangement not only with zeal, and the best public intentions, but with a masterly decision, that must entitle him to the grateful and complete approbation of his employers.

‘ It remains with the Board to concert with the Governor General, upon his return, those measures that may secure this Government from any future inconveniences or distress, that can be supposed connected with the confidence reposed in the Vizier, for the administration of the affairs of his revenue and military establishments.’

The Governor General delivers in the following Minute, in consequence of that of the Board, entered on the proceedings of the 14th ultimo.

‘ The Governor General acknowledges his obligations to the Board for this repeated instance of the liberal manner in which they have been pleased to record their judgment on his conduct.—Had it been expressed in the simple terms of official approbation, he should have been pleased, and satisfied that it had received so respectable a sanction ; but by tracing the sources of it in the motives which he has avowed, by their examination of those motives, with their relative facts and circumstances, and by the doubts which they have anticipated and solved, on the propriety of such parts of his conduct as might most obviously suggest them, they have justified their own approval, and entitled him to expect the same favourable sentiments in their common superiors.

‘ Nor is he less pleased with the reserve with which the Board have declared their satisfaction in the arrangement concluded by him with the Nabob Vizier, because he thinks it will be received as an evidence of the deliberation and sincerity of their former approval.—He is willing to submit the propriety of the measure to the test of its success.—The Resident has already informed the Board, that he had received of the treasures of the late Vizier, left in the charge of his widow, and lately reclaimed by his son, the amount of the bond granted
‘ by

' by the latter for the balance of the year 1178, which ends in
 ' September 1780 of our æra, and was in the actual receipt of as
 ' much as would discharge the balance of the last year, that is
 ' of the year 1179.——The first of these balances is
 ' 32,68,613. 11.; the last 12,09,876. 9. 8. The sum of both
 ' is, rupees 44,78,490. 4. 8. Oude Siccas. The Resident
 ' seems to have understood this to be the whole of the Nabob's
 ' debt. There is a further balance of 26 lacks, which ap-
 ' pears to have been by some means overlooked, or withheld
 ' from Mr. Middleton on the transfer of his office from Mr.
 ' Purling; a rectified account, drawn to the latest period, has
 ' been transmitted to Mr. Middleton by the Accountant Ge-
 ' neral, which, it is hoped, will arrive in time to prevent his
 ' stopping at the receipt of the supposed balance; and at all
 ' events, the profits of the resumed Jagheers ought to yield a
 ' fund, more than sufficient both for the complete liquidation
 ' of what may remain of the Nabob's present debt, and to make
 ' up the deficiency of the assignments granted on his revenue
 ' for the current year within the course of it.

' The Governor General expects this service from the Re-
 ' sident, and relies upon his fidelity for the performance of it.
 ' But in the supposition of the possibility of a disappointment,
 ' he again offers his personal services to proceed to Lucknow,
 ' on the first symptom of such a failure; and, with the confi-
 ' dence which he feels in his own influence, aided by the pow-
 ' erful support of the Board, he will venture to promise that he
 ' will not return with their object unaccomplished.

' He hopes and believes that there will be no necessity for
 ' this extremity; but adds it as a ground for the assurance
 ' which he ventures to propose, and wishes the Board to give
 ' to the Honourable Court of Directors, in the advices to them,
 ' now under dispatch, that there is the fairest prospect, amount-
 ' ing as near to a certainty as can be affirmed of an event yet
 ' in expectation, that the debt due from the Nabob Vizier to
 ' the Company, and even that of the Rohilla donation, will
 ' be compleatly paid off in the course of the present year, and a
 ' supply added to our ordinary resources, which will fully an-
 ' swer all our own wants for that period, and enable us to contri-
 ' bute still further, and we hope effectual, aids, to those of the
 ' Carnatic.'

Then several Extracts of a Letter from the Governor General
 and Council, in their Secret Department, to the Court of
 Directors, dated 11th February 1782, were read, as follows:

' 2d. We determined at the same time to dispatch the Nancy,
 ' Captain Hiffennan, with these reports, as soon as they could be
 ' prepared; and we have now the pleasure to transmit them to
 ' you, a separate number in this packet.

' 3d. The above papers contain such a full account of all the

‘ transactions of the Governor General upon this service, together with his motives and reasonings upon them, that we think it would be superfluous to add any thing of our own in this place, but to recommend them to your attentive perusal, with our minutes which are annexed.

‘ 4th. By these it will appear, that the treachery and intrigues of Cheyt Sing, supported by the disaffection and restless disposition of the Bhow Begum, mother of the Nabob of Owde, at Fyzabad, produced insurrections in that country, which till lately we were unapprized of, on account of the communication between that place and Benares being wholly cut off.

‘ 5. At the same time that the first information of these disturbances reached us, we were happy to hear that they had been quelled by the accounts received there of the successful efforts of our troops in Benares, and the march of two regiments from Cawnpore to the relief of Colonel Hannay ; whose Sepoys gave evident proofs, by their desertion, that they had been tampered with, and he, with most of his officers, were in great danger of their lives ; a detachment under Lieutenant Gordon having been actually attacked and cut off, and the rest of the corps being surrounded by the rabble, levied under sanction of the Begum, avowedly for the service of Raja Cheyt Sing.

‘ 6. The circumstance of the levies is further corroborated by various reports from Fyzabad, and by the list of Cheyt Sing’s forces, delivered to the Governor General at Chunar, in which the troops said to be come from Lucknow, which formed a part of his strength, must evidently be the same, (since they agree in number,) with those which Colonel Hannay declares to have been raised and sent to him from Fyzabad.

‘ 7. The just grounds of suspicion which had been given to the Nabob by the Begum, and other principal Jaghyrdars in his country, by the symptoms of disaffection, and even treachery, displayed in their conduct, made it an object of serious consideration with him, to take the first opportunity which should offer, consistent with justice, to dispossess them of the means of becoming injurious to his authority ; and, the necessities of his government requiring extraordinary aid, he resolved to take this occasion of depriving them of those extensive Jaghires which enabled them to become troublesome, by the Revenues which they yielded, and the number of dependants necessarily retained for their collection and defence, and to resume the lands, allowing pensions to the Jaghyrdars in lieu of the Revenues.

‘ 8. As the Resident at Lucknow had been made guarantee to an agreement formerly executed between the Nabob and the Begum, in which he had engaged, for a specific sum of money, to desist from all further claims upon her, it was necessary for him to acquire the sanction of this government to his intentions,

tions, before he could carry them into execution; which the infidelity of the Begum gave but too much reason to grant. — You will find this measure provided for in the new Treaty, concluded with the Nabob by the Governor General at Chunar, on the 19th of September last.

9. On the first attempt made by the Nabob to carry this plan into execution against the Begum, she determined to resist his authority, and raised a revolt by the means of her eunuchs, Jewar Ally Cawn, and Bahar Ally Cawn, who had collected a force of about 5000 men, in order to set the Nabob at defiance. — Notice of this second insurrection having been transmitted by the Resident, without loss of time, to the Governor General at Benares, he immediately ordered a large detachment to march from Cawnpore, and the Nabob resolved to go in person to Fyzabad; on his arrival there, by the assistance of our troops, he took possession of the Kella; and the eunuchs, seeing it would be in vain to make a stand when superior forces were expected, surrendered themselves prisoners to the Nabob, and their followers dispersed.

10. In order to punish the Begum for this daring ill conduct, and to put it out of her power to apply the treasures which she had amassed to the purpose of raising further commotions in his country, the Nabob resolved to seize her wealth, which by the Mahomedan laws he was entitled to, as an inheritance from his father; who, in the latter years of his life, had committed his treasury wholly to her charge, and it had remained with her after his death. — This wealth, whatever it might be, he determined to apply to the payment of his debt to the Company; and we have received information from the Resident who attended him to Fyzabad, that he had actually paid him the sum of 55 lacks of rupees in ready money, and by draft on Bahar and Jewar Ally Cawn, which would soon be realized.

13. The uncertainty of Madajee Sindia's conduct before Mr. Anderson's arrival with him, from the false rumours which had been spread of Cheyt Sing's reception there, the necessity of establishing the authority of the new Rajah in the Zemindary of Benares, of proving the capacity of the person who had been appointed to take charge of it in quality of his Dewan, and disposing the military forces which would be necessary for the protection of the country, together with the objects comprized in the late Treaty with the Nabob of Oude, combined to engross the attention of the Governor General, and to detain him longer at Chunar than he intended; but these points being at length happily placed in such a train of execution as to dispense with any further necessity for the Governor General's immediate presence there, we have the pleasure to acquaint you, that he set out for the Presidency, and being returned, has this day resumed his seat at the Board.

Then a Letter from the Nabob of Furruckabad, received 11th May 1786, and a Letter to the said Nabob, written 7th September 1786 *, were read, as follows:

From the Nawab of Furruckabad:—Received 11th May 1786.—Co. Corr. No. 22.

‘ As I have taken shelter from every kind of cruel difficulty
 ‘ under the shadow of the Company’s protection, and have rest-
 ‘ ed my good and bad, and my interests and advantage upon
 ‘ your Excellency, who is the chief of the noble gentlemen of
 ‘ the Company, and is extolled through the world, and praised
 ‘ in the universe for protection and support of your word; I
 ‘ therefore write to your presence part of my situation: That
 ‘ when Mr. John Willes was desirous of going to Calcutta, he
 ‘ said to me that he was going to Calcutta, in obedience to a
 ‘ summons from you; that he was well acquainted with the
 ‘ particulars of my distresses; that on account of the small col-
 ‘ lections from the country, I had not the resources to pay so
 ‘ much money and Nuzeranna, and to support myself also; that
 ‘ if I would give in writing, for the Governor General, my situ-
 ‘ ation, he, that is to say, Mr. Willes, would fully make known
 ‘ the particulars of this place at the presence of the Governor Ge-
 ‘ neral; and certainly some kind of resource and removal of my
 ‘ distresses would come to effect from the presence of the Gover-
 ‘ nor General.—My protector, I who have no asylum nor pro-
 ‘ tector, except the Almighty and the English Company, and
 ‘ know every one of the English gentlemen to be my supporter,
 ‘ from this consideration having sent with Mr. Willes, to your
 ‘ presence, a letter containing the particulars of my distresses, I
 ‘ was in hopes that certainly my relief and ease would be effect-
 ‘ ed from your presence. When that gentleman arrived here on
 ‘ his return from Calcutta, and gave to me your kind letter,
 ‘ full of the greatest favours, to this purport; that the particu-
 ‘ lars of my distresses had fully come to your knowledge; that
 ‘ accordingly some plans which you had resolved upon, for the
 ‘ removal of the impoverishment of the country, and for the sup-
 ‘ port of my honour and credit, you had given in charge to Mr.
 ‘ Willes, and had sent him back to the office, which he holds
 ‘ here with me; that I should be pleased and satisfied with the
 ‘ information and execution of the plans which you had resol-
 ‘ ved upon, and from which you expected great advantages;
 ‘ that, considering the advice which that gentleman should give
 ‘ to me to be your own advice, I should act in conformity there-
 ‘ to; and that you would employ such plans and exertions,
 ‘ without number, for my advantage and ease, and the removal
 ‘ of my distresses, that in the whole world it would be known

* Read from a Paper, intituled, “ Copies of Persian Correspondence
 “ between the Nabob of Furruckabad and the Governor General of Bengal,
 “ since 1 Jan. 1786, &c.”

' that you had performed all these services for me—the greatest
 ' pleasure came into my heart from the kind contents of it ;
 ' and when, conformably to the contents of your letter,
 ' I enquired the circumstances from that gentleman, he,
 ' without mentioning one word of them, entered into authority
 ' over the affairs of the country and money, and made the ruler
 ' over the affairs of my house a man named Roy Deebchund,
 ' who, on account of his great age and bodily infirmities, has of
 ' himself no sense nor understanding, but from a long time has
 ' been the intimate friend of that gentleman's ministers ; and he
 ' removed some of my companions, who had never been separated.
 ' From a regard to obedience, and to giving satisfaction
 ' to you, I in no way varied from that gentleman's directions ;
 ' and he also, with peremptory importunities, sent people and
 ' demanded, for himself, some pieces of cannon which were
 ' with me : although I answered that the things which were
 ' wanted, he should send for at the time, and that they should
 ' at that time be sent with my own people who are appointed to
 ' that charge, yet he would not in the least attend to it, but fixed
 ' them in the possession of his own people ; and a person
 ' named Simhell Dofs, who was indebted a large sum on account
 ' of balances to me, and had agreed to pay sixty thousand rupees
 ' of these balances, this man he would not at that time permit
 ' to be released, and soon after, without my consent, he appointed
 ' him to the affairs of the Pergunnahs, and I did not receive
 ' one daum of the money. What you wrote in your kind letter,
 ' consistently with favour and protection of dependants, on
 ' the subject of the service of my cavalry for the Nawaub Vizier,
 ' I enquired the particulars thereof from that gentleman, but he
 ' gave me no information. When I saw that Mr. Willes, from
 ' the advice and representations of wicked persons, who wish to
 ' ruin my house, was injuring and destroying all my concerns,
 ' in opposition to the purport of your kind letter which had arrived
 ' on the subject of ease and relief to me, I from the first
 ' said to that gentleman, that if he were desirous to take the Nuzeranna,
 ' he should commit to me the direction and management of the country,
 ' and should receive the money of the Nuzeranna from me, and should give me
 ' information of what might be the orders of the Governor General about my
 ' support and the protection of my honour, that conformably thereto
 ' I might act ; or if not, that he should tell me so, that I might write
 ' my situation to the presence of the Governor General ; but to this time
 ' that gentleman has delayed this business for to-day and to-morrow ;
 ' accordingly, my servants and attendants, and relations, and dependants,
 ' are in distresses of every kind ; and keep me, by their demands and importunities,
 ' in such a whirlpool of anxiety and difficulty, that my life is come
 ' into streights ; and although I make known to that gentleman

gentleman my situation, yet the wicked men who are employed in all his affairs do not bring his mind to any other object except the injury of my affairs, and the destruction of my government. Accordingly, when that gentleman went for the settlement of the Mahals, I being without remedy, said to him that he was hiring new men for the settlement of the country, but that he should take with him my people, who were in fact servants of the English Company, and should transact every business and concern through them, and save their lives, by giving them their necessary sustenance, that I might find release from their importunities, and those who have long been my companions might have food.—At that time Mr. Willes agreed to this business; but when I sent the people to him, he said to them, that if they would quit my service, and accept of his service, they might remain; but if not, they might arise and depart.—The said people being without remedy, arose and came away. And besides, he has begun such violence in the town, that hundreds of houses of the inhabitants of the town, and some houses of my dependants, where they resided from the time of their fathers and grandfathers, he has pulled down and destroyed, and turned out the people; and even to a person named Zehoor Ulla, a Seyed, having given thirty rupees, and to a person named Mahomed Nejabut, an household slave of my own, having given a few rupees, and having treated them with anger, he made them write, and took from, a declaration of satisfaction; and having by anger and coaxing got to himself the Caazee of the town, and having fixed for the Caazee one rupee in each village from the Pergunnahs, he affixes and takes the seal of the Caazee to every paper which he chuses; and of the Ghauts for the duties of Furruckabad, which had been given up, he, without my consent, retained with himself two hundred Peons from the receipts of the duties. Accordingly the said Peons commit such violences in the whole town, that the people are killed without fault; and these particulars of the oppression and tyranny of that gentleman's ministers, which have been represented to the presence, will certainly have been also learnt by your Excellency from the news-papers. Accordingly, my dependants and followers, and the inhabitants of the town, to whom my ancestors attended even more than to their own children, distress and afflict me at all times, by making known the particulars of fresh violence; and I, who am in every way dependant on the hem of the garment of the Company, and of you, the supporter of justice, to whom else can I open the representation of my situation, except to you? and it is known to God, who knows all secrets, that, from these misfortunes of grief and mourning, and distresses of all kinds, such as never were before, such sickness has come upon me, that my life's destiny is to begin again.

' again. Although I consider it improper to write at all times
 ' accusations and complaints against the English gentlemen, from
 ' whom I know to exist the strength and cultivation of my go-
 ' vernment, yet, as I did not see in myself any kind of ability to
 ' bear, I have, whether I would or nor, represented the particu-
 ' lars of my situation.—I hope that, consistently with your fa-
 ' vour to dependants, you will inform me on the subject of my
 ' existence and cultivation of my government, which, in truth,
 ' is reputation to the English Company, and to you, in the
 ' whole country of Hindostan, what you have resolved in your
 ' favourable heart; because it is not known how much money
 ' will be received in the English Company's Sircar, and how
 ' much will remain for my existence.—If not, let it be ordered,
 ' that I, with my family and children, being arrived at your
 ' presence, may personally represent my situation. At that time,
 ' whatever may come into your mind on the subject of my ex-
 ' istence, considering it to be the law of my life, and my interest
 ' and advantage, I may obtain release from these various states,
 ' full of vexation. And in this period, from the time of Mr.
 ' Willes's arrival here, three letters of favour have been receiv-
 ' ed, and that I have delayed in writing the answer to them,
 ' God knows how great affliction and despair have come into
 ' my heart, that perhaps what suspicion might find entrance in-
 ' to your mind from my not writing letters of allegiance. Ac-
 ' cordingly I now make known to your mind of pure virtues,
 ' that the said gentleman demands of me answers to your letters
 ' in the manner of his own desire, in a style of satisfaction.—I,
 ' from this consideration, that the said gentleman had thrown to
 ' the winds my concerns, by the advice of bad-dispositioned
 ' people, and said nothing on the subject of my subsistence, and
 ' keeps it in delay, if I should write to you a word of satisfaction
 ' from myself, and should afterwards represent my situation, on
 ' account of the heavy distresses and the ruin of all affairs, which
 ' has happened, and is happening, it would not be proper and
 ' becoming: therefore having made known to your favourable
 ' judgment my situation, I hope that I may be soon exalted and
 ' set at ease by an answer to this letter; otherwise I will go
 ' to your presence, from the heavy weight of my distresses. If
 ' you should order it, I will write on a separate paper, and send
 ' to your presence, what, to this time, the said gentleman has
 ' given to me.'

' To the Nawab of Furruckabad, written 7th September 1786.—
 Co. Corr. No. 22.

' I received your letter of complaint against Mr. Willis, trans-
 ' mitted to me through an irregular channel, and written, as I
 ' have every reason to believe, at the instigation of those who
 ' wish to get possession of your country. —I have called upon
 ' Mr.

‘ Mr. Willis for an answer to the letter which you have written against him. This answer he has sent, and it is fully satisfactory.

‘ My friend, I find that all the labour of my predecessor, Mr. Hastings, and of myself, to settle your affairs upon a regular footing, are ineffectual.

‘ I have informed myself fully, through other channels besides Mr. Willis, relative to your affairs, your own conduct, and the situation of the province of Furruckabad; I am sorry that you have not paid proper attention to Mr. Willis, or his advice, nor given the proper support to your Dewan.

‘ A new Governor General is arrived at Madras; he is a nobleman of the highest character and rank.—I have called upon Mr. Willis to come to Calcutta, to give a full account of affairs to the said Governor: in the mean time, if you value my advice, you will attend to Mr. Willis’s direction, and not alter any regulation which he may have settled, until his return.

‘ I see clearly where the mismanagement of your affairs will end, and that it will be impossible to prevent your country and your Revenues from falling, (in consequence of the ill advice which you follow,) as a prey to the servants of the Nawab Vizier. I have shewn to you every friendship in my power, but you will not attend to your own interest or dignity.’

NATHANIEL MIDDLETON, Esquire, called in, and examined.

Did you leave Chunar with the Nabob Vizier, in September 1781? I did.

Did Husein Reza Cawn and Hyder Beg Cawn accompany you? They did.

Was Mrs. Hastings at Chunar while the Nabob was there? She was not.

Did you send any sums, and what sums of money, from Lucknow to Chunar, or Benares, during the troubles in those parts?

I did from Lucknow—whilst I was at Chunar a sum of money was sent.

To what particular object destined?

By the order of Mr. Hastings.

Had you an acquittance for it from Mr. Hastings?

I do not recollect that I had any thing but his order for it.

Do you know whether it was to be employed for the payment of the troops, or in what other way?

I understood it was for the payment of the troops.

How much was the sum?

I recollect at one time there was a lack of rupees sent.

Are you sure you sent, or caused to be sent, no other sums?

I think

I think I recollect that bills were sent for some money of the late Colonel Goddard's—the sum I do not recollect.

Do you recollect any bills upon Gopaul Doss?

I really do not know who the bills were upon.

Did you remit any money to Gopaul Doss?

I do not recollect that I did.

Did Mr. Hastings inform you of any money borrowed or received at that time from Beneram Pundit?

He did not.

Did Mr. Hastings express himself at any time to you, after the supplies you have mentioned, as under great apprehensions for want of money to pay the detachment at Benares?

I do recollect Mr. Hastings having frequently expressed great apprehensions from the great difficulties he laboured under for want of money to pay the troops.

Was it not at that period Mr. Hastings received the present of ten lacks from the Nabob?

It must, I conceive, have been about that time.

But notwithstanding Mr. Hastings complained of want of money, and apprehension of distress, so communicated to you, did he never inform you of this resource?

He did not.

Could Mr. Hastings have entirely concealed the receipt of this sum, whether in bills or money, from you, who was then confidentially engaged with him in making the Treaty of Chunar with the Nabob, without considerable management and care, that the receipt of the said present should not come to your knowledge?

I really cannot say what management was used—I certainly did not know of it.

If the present was made in money, could it any ways have been lodged in Mr. Hastings's hands, without your knowing of it, unless particular precautions had been used?

I think, had it been lodged in money, I should have heard of it.

Then you conceive the payment must have been made in bills?

I think it most likely; but it is matter of opinion.

Do you think that a transaction relative to so great a sum of money by bills between Lucknow and Benares, could have taken place without your receiving any information relative to it, either at the time, or upon your return to Lucknow?

I think it very possible it might.

Do you mean to say, that from your situation as Resident at Lucknow, it was easy, or even possible, for the Vizier, under the circumstances of distress in which his affairs then were, to have transferred so large a sum to any person, without your having intelligence of it?

Very possible certainly, but not easy.

Then, if it was a matter of difficulty, there must have been some care and attention used to make the concealment effectual?

Y

Certainly

Certainly there must have been some care.

Did you know whether Bahar Ally Cawn was at Chunar or Benares whilst Mr. Hastings was at either of those places?

I never heard that he was.

Did the Nabob make the offer of the second present to Mr. Hastings, of ten lacks of rupees, in a conversation with you, or by letter?

Not by letter, certainly.—I am not certain whether he made it verbally himself, or through his minister.

Who do you mean by his minister?

Hussein Reza Cawn and Hyder Beg Cawn; they used both to bring communications from the Nabob to me indiscriminately.

Are you then confident that you had no written authority from the Nabob to make this offer?

I do not think I had.

Do you think you have any such paper, or copy of such paper, now?

No—I think I have not.

Do you doubt whether you have or not?

I do not remember receiving any letter from the Nabob on this subject; and therefore I cannot suppose I have any such paper.

Have you any such written authority from either of the ministers before mentioned?

I believe I have not.

Are you sure that you never had any conversation directly with the Nabob himself upon the subject?

I cannot be positive that I did—I conceived his ministers much in the same light as himself.

Did you never know any instance wherein those ministers acted without his authority, or made use of his name?

I cannot say that I know any instances.

Do you not recollect that Mr. Hastings charged Hyder Beg with repeated instances of such a conduct?

I think I have heard so; and I am pretty sure I have seen it upon record in the papers before this House.

Who communicated to Mr. Hastings the offer of the second present of one hundred thousand pounds?

I did.

Who received Mr. Hastings's answer upon the subject, and to whom was that communicated?

I never received any answer to it——nor did I ever hear that he had made any reply to it, or taken any notice of it.

Was not this about the time when you informed the Committee, in your former evidence, that you had first the misfortune to fall under Mr. Hastings's displeasure?

It was from Fyzabad; which, I believe, was about that time.

Do you believe, that if Mr. Hastings had accepted this present, the receipt of it could have remained a secret, as in the case of the former present?

It

It is certainly possible.

You have said, that the former present could not have been concealed without great care and attention being paid to that object, what measures had you taken for the clandestine transmittance of the second present to Calcutta ?

I had taken none.

How then was it to remain a secret ?

The witness asks, whether the question means the remittance of it ?

The fact of it's being received ?

Had it been received and remitted through me, it certainly could not have been a secret.

What measures were taken to realize this present, or any part of it, at Lucknow ?

I believe nothing further than an assignment given for it.

What sort of an assignment do you mean, and upon what fund ?

Assignments upon the revenue of the country.

Upon what province, and upon what collector ?

I do not recollect it was upon any particular district — It was added to the general assignments of the Company.

Are you sure that this assignment was not upon the Jaghire of the Begums ?

Pretty certain that no part of it was upon those Jaghires.

Was nothing collected upon this assignment ?

It is difficult to make any separation — It was added to the Company's assignments, and credit given for the whole sum collected.

Then an additional sum of ten lacks was collected in consequence of this assignment upon some district or other ?

The assignments were not nearly realized ; there was a great balance upon them.

Was it in part collected ?

Not separately. It was added to the general assignments.

Was not a greater sum collected in consequence of this present, than would otherwise have been collected in that period of receiving the Company's balance ?

I do not apprehend that a larger sum was collected, though assignments to a larger amount were made ; but they fell considerably in value.

Do you mean that the whole sum fell equally in arrear ?

The whole assignments fell in arrear.

Why did you cause any measures to be taken towards collecting money upon this assignment, before you was apprized whether Mr. Hastings would or would not accept the present ?

I understood that it was the Nabob's desire that the assignment should be given ; and it was never my intention to take any measures to urge the payment without Mr. Hastings's authority.

Had you not reported to Mr. Hastings, just previous to your going

ing to Fyzabad, that the Nabob's body guard had risen upon him for want of pay?

I cannot say that I recollect the circumstance, though it is very possible, all the Nabob's troops being very ill paid.

Do you not recollect to have informed Mr. Hastings, at the same period, that the Nabob was in a distracted state of mind, and had expressed his apprehensions that certain bodies of troops which were proposed to be sent into his dominions by order of Mr. Hastings, were intended, under whatever pretence they might come, to be employed ultimately in securing his (the Nabob's) person?

I have a recollection of a letter to that purport.

Then did you not conceive it to be an extraordinary circumstance, that the Nabob, in such a state of his affairs, and in such a state of mind with respect to Mr. Hastings, should apply to you to request Mr. Hastings's acceptance of a present of above 100,000l?

I believe the two occurrences were at different periods of time. I think, it will be found, that the letter here alluded to must have been written before the Nabob went to Fyzabad.

Do you not conceive that the acquisition of the treasure taken from the Begums enabled the Nabob, whatever were his motives, to offer this present?

I conceive it did.

Do you recollect at what time Major Palmer and Major Davy came to Lucknow?

I cannot recollect exactly—I think it must have been about May 1782—probably earlier.

Was it after measures had been taken to collect money upon the assignment given by the Nabob for the ten lacks before mentioned?

I think it must have been after the assignment had been given.

Were not those gentlemen instructed to communicate with you upon the matters relative to which they were sent to Lucknow?

I know no more than what I collect from Mr. Hastings's letter on that occasion.

Did you ever converse with them upon the subject of this second present?

I did not—I left Lucknow a very few days after Major Palmer arrived.

Did you not return again to Lucknow, and then find Major Palmer, and Major Davy there?

I found Major Palmer, and not Major Davy.

Did you then discuss with him this subject of the present, or learn from him in what situation the business then stood?

I did not.

Were you not afterwards employed by the Nabob Vizier, or his ministers, to transmit letters from the Nabob to Mr. Hastings?

I was.

Had

Had you not sometimes a knowledge of the contents and purport of those letters?

In general I had a knowledge of the purport.

Do you recollect to have been shewn, or to have been informed of the contents of a letter from the Nabob Vizier, stated to have been received by Mr. Hastings, the 23d August 1782, in which are the following passages, relative to this second present of ten lacks of rupees, viz. “Major William Palmer and Major Davy
“have made known to me your order respecting my authority in
“the country, with great regard and consideration, and have made
“me grateful for your favours. They ask for a paper of requests,
“which I accordingly wrote, and gave to them. They afterwards
“spoke about ten lacks of rupees for the expences of the Sircar of
“the Company; next, they spoke about four regiments, that I
“should employ them. Respecting these two articles, although I
“have no power, being remediless, in obedience to your will I
“wrote a letter to Major Palmer in the manner I agreed to it.
“How shall I make known my situation? From the time that these
“propositions have been made, all judgment has left my mind?”

I do not recollect ever to have heard of such a letter.

Did Major Palmer ever communicate to you letters to a similar purport, and equally expressive of the Nabob's surprize at the demand for the ten lacks?

Never, to my knowledge.

Are you confident, that the first communication that was really made to the Nabob himself, on the subject of this supposed present of ten lacks, was not through Major Palmer?

I should conceive not.

The first suggestion of it to the Nabob?

I must be very much deceived if it was.

Were not communications and transactions carried on between Hyder Beg, Major Palmer, and Major Davy, concealed at the time from you, and which you afterwards heard with surprize?

The Committee will be pleased to recollect, that I was absent from Lucknow a great part of the time that Major Palmer was there; and Major Palmer, during that time, was, I may say, the only channel of communication between the Nabob, his Ministers, and Mr. Hastings. — At that time communications were certainly made, to which I was a stranger, as well as my assistant, Mr. Johnstone.

Do you not recollect to have informed Mr. Hastings, while the journey to Fyzabad was in agitation, that the Nabob complained loudly of the treachery of his ministers, and that he had been deceived?

I do recollect that the Nabob made such complaints; and I believe I communicated them to Mr. Hastings.

Is it not then possible, that the Nabob might have been deceived by his ministers, in the affair of this present?

It is possible, but I think scarcely probable.

You, however, yourself, do not recollect to have had any direct conversation with the Nabob upon the subject, nor to have received any authority from him?

I cannot charge my memory with having had any communication with the Nabob upon that subject, but I think it very probable that I had.

Then one of the books which had been produced by the witness to this Committee, on the 23d of February last, intituled, "Letters to the Board, from 1777 to 1782," being shewn to him,

He was desired to explain to the Committee, how the leaves, to the number of twelve, wanting in that book, came to be out of it,—from the 12th of May to the 18th of June 1781?

It appears to be in the other part of the book, misplaced.—I must beg leave to add, that I should not have been surprized if those leaves had been missing, as I never delivered those books as a correct copy of my correspondence—they were such as I happened to have by me.

Had you not received some letters from Major Davy, to be delivered to the Ministers of the Vizier, Hussein Reza Cawn, and Hyder Beg Cawn, of 28th March 1782, without any copies or translations, for your information?

I cannot say I recollect—but it is very possible.

The witness is shewn a letter to Major Davy from himself, a copy of which is as follows:

' To Mr. W. Davy, private Persian Interpreter.

' Sir,

' I have been favoured with yours of the 28th ultimo, inclosing letters from the Honourable the Governor General, to his Excellency the Vizier, Hussein Reza Cawn, and Hyder Beg Cawn, which were immediately delivered in obedience to his orders.—Permit, me, Sir, to inform you, that the Governor General, when he has had occasion to address the Vizier on subjects of business, especially when I have been the channel of conveying the letters, has usually done me the honour to accompany them either with copies or translations for my information, which, having been of late omitted, I impute to its having escaped his memory to mention it to you at the time of your appointment to your present office.

' I shall esteem myself obliged if you will do me the favour to notice this observation to the Governor General, and receive his command upon it.

' I have the honour to be, Sir,

' Your most obedient humble servant,

' Lucknow,

' NATH. MIDDLETON.'

' 12th Apr. 1782.'

Do you recollect that letter?

I do, perfectly.

What answer did you receive to that letter?

Major Davy answered, I believe, that he would for the future send me copies.

Did you enter that answer of Major Davy in your copy book?

It is probable I did; but I cannot positively say that I did.

Whether you have reason to think any more letters went to the Vizier, without having the copies or translations communicated to you?

After that I believe not—None through me.

Whether Hoolas Roy, an agent of yours, was not sent down to Chunar to be sworn before Sir Elijah Impey, relative to the charge against the Begums?

Hoolas Roy was the agent on the part of the Resident at Fyzabad, and he was ordered to attend at Chunar.

Have you heard why his affidavit did not appear among the rest?

I never did hear.—I do not think I ever heard that he was examined at Chunar.—At least I do not recollect.

And then the witness was directed to withdraw.

Mr. WILLIAM WRIGHT, Auditor of Indian Accounts, called in, and examined.

And an account intituled, “No. 2, Duplicate Copy of the particulars of the presents taken from the Nabob Vizier and his ministers, and from Nundoo Delol, carried to the Honourable Company’s credit to the account of the receipts and disbursements of the Governor General, during his absence from the Presidency, on a visit to the Northern Provinces, and included in Mr. Hastings’s account of 22d May 1782, inserted in copy of a letter from W. Larkins, Esquire, Accountant General in Bengal, to the Chairman of the East India Company, dated 5th August 1786, No. 6,” being shewn to the witness,

He was asked;

Is that an account of payments made by cash or bills, or both?

From the title I apprehend both—I cannot speak from the account itself—I apprehend it must be both of cash and bills, from the sum of 10,30,275 rupees, which I recollect to be the sum entered on the general books of 1781-2 as received from Mr. Hastings.

Do you understand that that is a memorandum of the money received by Mr. Hastings at Chunar?

I understand it so.

And you understand from the accounts, that the payment made was partly in cash and partly in bills?

I do.—The journal is here, and will explain it.

Then the journal was delivered in by the witness.

Whether

Whether these ten lacks were paid into the Company's treasury, or brought to account for various expenditures ?

It is brought to account under the head of Charges Durbar in the journal—to which head Mr. Hastings is made debtor for that sum.

Whether the journals and ledgers of that period have been regularly transmitted as they were in former times ?

I cannot charge my memory with the circumstance—there is an account before the house, of the times at which the journals and ledgers for some years have been received in England.

Whether Mr. Hastings has at any time transmitted or produced to the Court of Directors any vouchers to prove his receipt of two lacks of rupees upon bond from Beneram Pundit, or any vouchers for the discharge of that debt ?

There is an entry to that effect on the journal of the year 1781, but no further vouchers, as I have seen.

Does that entry refer to any voucher ?

I do not recollect immediately—but the journal entry is before the house.

Whether the several payments said to be made to the regimental paymasters, on account of Mr. Hastings, are all of them dated, so as to ascertain the time of the payment ?

No, they are not.

Do you recollect whether the other articles of Durbar charges are dated ?

I believe not all, as to the expenditure under that head.

Whether the Durbar charges of Mr. Hastings, when he went up to Lucknow in 1784, are dated ?

I think from recollection that they are.

From what funds did Mr. Hastings receive the five lacks of rupees which he expended in his journey to Lucknow in 1784 ?

He received some from the Calcutta treasury, some from the Accountant at Lucknow, and some from the Resident at Benares ; a particular account of the receipt and expenditure of that money is before the house.

Whether the article of the Durbar charges of the money paid to the detachment attending Mr. Hastings, includes the regular pay of that detachment, or is a superadded charge ?

I do not think there is any such entry under that particular head of Durbar charges.

And then the witness was directed to withdraw.

To report a progress, &c.



